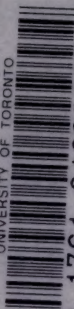


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HISTORY

OF

NAPOLEON I.

COMPILED FROM THE MOST RELIABLE AUTHORITIES,

FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

EMBELLISHED WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS,

FROM DESIGNS BY HORACE VERNET.

LONDON :

HENRY LEA, 22, WARWICK LANE.



HISTORY

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HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF NAPOLEON.—BOYHOOD.—EDUCATION.—FIRST COMMISSION. 1769—1785.



HE Bonapartes of Corsica belonged to an illustrious Italian family which, during the middle ages, was allied to the houses of Medici, Orsini, and Lomellini. It became impoverished, however, during the struggles of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, which at one time desolated Italy; and a younger branch of the family retired to Corsica, where its high extraction would have been forgotten, but from the circumstances destined to give interest to so memorable a name.

Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Charles Bonaparte and Lætitia Ramolino, was born at Ajaccio, in the isle of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. If he had lived in times more favourable to superstition, popular predictions and celestial signs would not have been wanting at the time of his birth. "His mother," says M. de Las-Cases, "a woman equally remarkable for her mental and physical qualities, and who constantly accompanied her husband in his military campaigns, was seized with the pains of labour while attending Mass at the solemnization of some holiday. She speedily gained her home, and, upon reaching her chamber, was delivered of a male child upon an old piece of tapestry, upon which was embroidered the heroes of Homer, and figures of the fabled warriors of antiquity;—that child was NAPOLEON.

The father of Napoleon was a man of learning and ability, who, after studying the law at Rome and Pisa, settled at Ajaccio as an advocate of session, where he married Lætitia Ramolino, a Corsican lady of Neapolitan extraction, admired as much for her energy and decision of character as for her beauty and accomplishments. Charles Bonaparte took an active part in the unsuccessful struggle of the Islanders, under Paoli, to maintain the independence of Corsica from the domination of France. He appeared shortly afterwards at Versailles, at the head of a deputation from his province, on the occasion of the differences which had arisen between the two French generals who commanded in Corsica, M. de Marbœuf and M. de Narbonne Pelez. The credit of the latter, so powerful at court, was partly frustrated by the frank and fearless evidence of Charles Bonaparte, who, faithfully adhering to truth and justice, pleaded eloquently for M. de Marbœuf. This was the origin and sole cause of the protection which that gentleman afterwards afforded the Bonaparte family.



Though Napoleon was but the second son of Charles Bonaparte, he was always considered as the "chief" of the family. His grand uncle the Archdeacon Lucien, who had been the guide and support of all his relations, gave him that title upon his death-bed, and charged his elder brother Joseph not to forget it; this, as Napoleon afterwards observed, was "a true disinheritor, the scene of Jacob

and Esau." He acquired this preeminence from his grave and reflective character, and the uncommon reasoning powers which he displayed at a very early age.

The childhood of Napoleon affords several indications of his after character. He appears to have been a mischievous and inquisitive child, hardy, bold, and wilful. He made himself formidable to all his associates, especially to his elder brother Joseph, who, if he did not submit to his caprices, was beaten, scratched, and abused. His early education devolved upon his mother, and to her training he afterwards attributed the success of his career. At a very early age he acquired that habit of studious reserve which he retained through life. His father had a summer retreat near Ajaccio, in the grounds of which was an isolated granite rock, with a natural grotto beneath, looking out upon the sea. There Napoleon frequently resorted during the school vacations, remaining for hours in solitary meditation. Sir Walter Scott has remarked upon this:—"How the imagination labours to form an idea of the visions which, in this sequestered spot, must have arisen before the eyes of the future hero!"

Placed in 1777 at the military school of Brienne, where he had Pichegru for a tutor and Bourrienne for a comrade, he applied himself assiduously to the study of history, geography, and mathematics. He was totally absorbed in the latter science; and his taste for politics was even then very remarkable. De Bourrienne has furnished a lively account of his school days. He describes him as having a remarkably dark Italian complexion, quick, penetrating eyes, and a head disproportioned to his diminutive body. He was also distinguished by his Corsican dialect, which was a source of ridicule to his companions. He soon, however, mastered the French language; but in classical and elegant literature he never acquired great proficiency. Plutarch, Tacitus, Polybius, and Arrian were his favourite authors. He was as fond of seclusion at Brienne as he had been in Corsica, and seldom associated with his fellow-students in their hours of recreation. But although he had few friends, he does not appear to have had any enemies in the school. His chief amusements consisted in the cultivation of a small plot of ground, of which one was assigned to each pupil, and in reading historical works.

His early love for military life was manifested even when a child, his favourite plaything having been a brass model of a cannon; but it was more strongly evinced during the winter of 1783-4, so memorable by the quantity of snow which fell, and accumulated upon the roads. Being prevented from working in his little garden, which afforded him the only amusement he then enjoyed in his hours of relaxation, he was forced to mingle with his comrades in their common pastimes, that of promenading an immense hall. To escape from this monotony, Napoleon bestirred the whole school, and soon made them aware how much better they could amuse themselves, if they would get some

shovels and open different passages through the snow, build some towers, dig some trenches, raise some platforms, &c. "When that is done," said he, "we will divide ourselves into companies, and commence an attack upon the fortress, and, as projector of the game, I will myself direct the attacking party." The joyous troop received



this project with enthusiasm. It was speedily executed; and this miniature warfare was continued for fifteen days. It was then interdicted in consequence of some of the combatants putting gravel and small stones into their snow balls, the result being that several scholars, both the besiegers and the besieged, were seriously hurt.

Thus to move the whole school, is some proof that young Bonaparte, in spite of his habits of lonely meditation, had acquired a considerable influence over the mass of his fellow students.

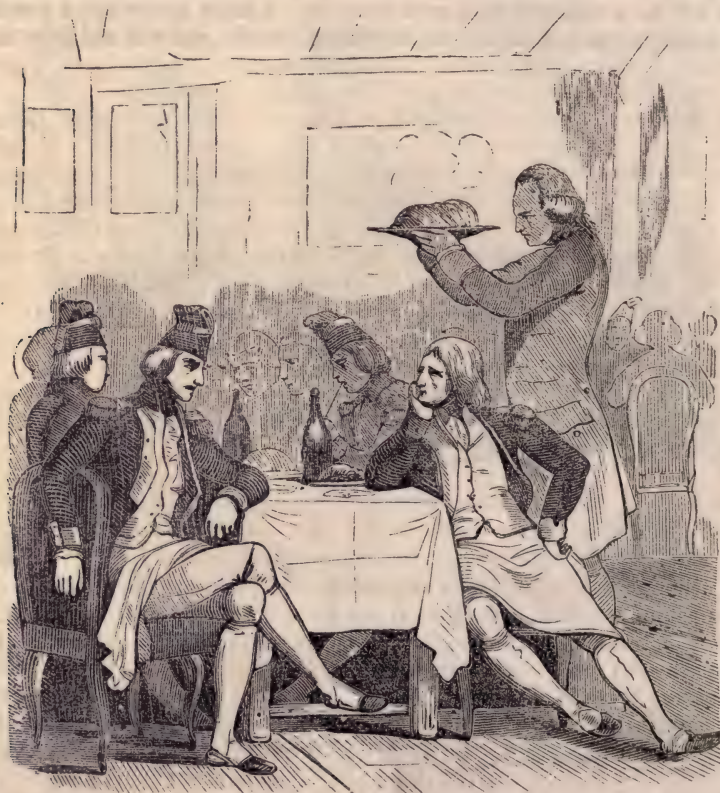
Of his pride and high spirit, and at the same time implicit obedience, the following incident will furnish an illustration. The quartermaster, for some fault, had condemned Napoleon to wear a serge coat,

and to dine on his knees at the door of the refectory. This disgrace so stung his spirit, that he was seized with violent hysterics. The principal of the school chancing to pass at the time, remitted the punishment, and reproved the tutor for his severity and want of discernment. The person who inflicted the punishment was Pichegru, who was quarter-master at the time. In after years Pichegru formed a sounder estimate of the character of his pupil ; for, on being asked by one of the Bourbons if means might not be devised to engage the conqueror of Italy in the royal interest, he is said to have replied :—“ It will be a waste of time to attempt it. I knew him when a youth ; his character is inflexible ; he has taken his side, and will abide by it.”



Father Patrault, professor of mathematics, was proud of Napoleon's acquirements in the branch of study over which he presided ; and it was probably owing in some measure to his recommendation, that, in his fifteenth year, at the examination of 1785, he was selected by Chevalier de Keralio for the military school at Paris. He described him as being remarkable for his application to mathematics, passable in history and geography, but rather backward in Latin. The inspector concluded by saying, “ He will make an excellent seaman and deserves to be passed to the military college of Paris.” In vain the officer who filled the situation of Inspector complained that the young scholar was not of the requisite age, and that he had only studied mathematics. “ I know what I do,” said he ; “ if I here overstep the rule, it is not to favour his family, for I know nothing of this boy. It is on his own account ; I perceive a spark of genius here that cannot be too much cultivated.” On entering this new school, Napoleon was not long in expressing his surprise and grief at the education

which was there given to young men destined for the camp and the laborious profession of arms. It formed the subject of a note which he addressed to the principal, M. Berton, in which he represented "that the king's scholars, being all poor gentlemen, could not afford the expensive charges of the establishment. He proposed to curtail the number of servants, and compel the students to groom their own horses. "Since they are far from being rich," said he, "and all destined for the military service, ought they not to be taught this?"



Accustomed to a simple and active life, they will become more robust, better able to brave the inclemency of the seasons, support with courage the fatigues of war, and inspire the soldiers under them with respect and devotedness."

Thus reasoned Napoleon at the age of sixteen, and time showed that he never deviated from these principles. Of this the establishment of the military school of Fontainebleau is a decided proof.

He continued, while at Paris, to distinguish himself in the same classes as at Brienne, and enjoyed the estimation of his teachers. M. de L'Eguille, his master of history, during the empire, found in the archives of the military school a note, to which he had many years before appended the following words to his scholar's name, "a Corsican by birth and character; he will do much if circumstances favour him." His professor of belles-lettres, Domairon, called his acquirements "flaming granites poured from a volcano." With both L'Eguille and Domairon Napoleon afterwards preserved an intimacy. When First Consul he frequently invited the former to breakfast at Malmaison, and was accustomed to revert to the discussions they had formerly held on the merits of various historical characters. Domairon, in 1802, became tutor to Jerome Bonaparte.

Only one professor in the school formed a mistaken idea of Bonaparte; that individual being M. Bauer, the German master. Young Napoleon never made much progress in that language, which offended the tutor, who, consequently, formed a most contemptible opinion of his pupil's abilities. One day having quitted his place, M. Bauer inquired where he was; when, being told that Bonaparte was attending his examination in the class of artillery, "Oh, then he does learn something?" said M. Bauer, ironically. "Why, sir, he is the best mathematician in the school," was the reply. "Ah, it has been remarked, and I have uniformly thought, that none but a fool could learn mathematics." The emperor, relating this anecdote some years after, said, "It would be curious to know whether M. Bauer lived long enough to ascertain my real character, and enjoy the confirmation of his own judgment."

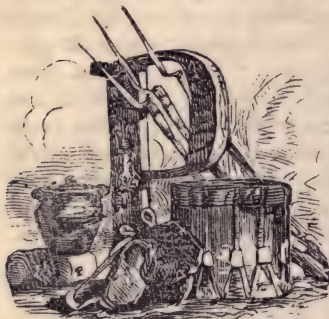
In August, 1785, after less than a year's residence at Paris, Napoleon passed his examination under the great La Place; and obtained his first commission as second lieutenant to the artillery regiment of La Fère, then in garrison at Grenoble.





CHAPTER II.

NAPOLÉON'S ENTRY INTO THE SERVICE.—HIS FIRST LOVE.—REVOLUTION.—THE SIEGE OF TOULON. 1785—1793.



ARIS, at this period, was the fittest theatre the universe could have afforded Napoleon for the display of his oratorical powers. There, at eighteen years of age, he gained the friendship of the celebrated Abbé Raynal, to whose literary and scientific parties he was often invited, and with whom he discussed, with almost equal talent, the highest questions of history, legislation, and politics.

From the period when Bonaparte had the command of a battalion, in Corsica, 1791, until the beginning of 1793, with some short intermissions, he was occupied in pursuing his studies, and going through the ordinary routine of his profession. His leisure hours were employed in compiling the lives of illustrious Corsicans, after the manner of Plutarch, particularly those patriots who had distinguished themselves in fighting for the independence of their country; two relations of his mother, a father and son, who had fallen in the defence of Ajaccio against the Genoese, in 1762, being among the number. He had made considerable progress in the work; but when he was afterwards called into a life of incessant bustle and activity, and perpetually moving from place to place, the manuscript was unfortunately lost. Great pains were subsequently taken by his brother Joseph to ascertain what became of it, in order to recover the same, but without success. Napoleon was always an enthusiastic admirer of Plutarch; and, while a youth, uniformly had a volume of that celebrated author in his pocket.

On his arrival at Valence, to join a party of his regiment stationed there, he speedily became a welcome visitor to the highest families in that town, and particularly to that of Madame Colombier, a woman of rare acquirements, and of considerable influence in Valence. It was there that he became acquainted with M. de Montalivet, whom he afterwards made his minister of the interior. Madame Colombier had a daughter, who inspired the young officer of artillery with the first sentiments of love that he had experienced in his life.



This inclination, as tender as innocent, was happily reciprocated by her who was the object. "We were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the emperor used to say. "We contrived little meetings; and I well remember one interview taking place on a midsum-

mer morning, just as day began to dawn ; when, it will scarcely be believed, all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

At length their thoughts were directed to their future marriage ; but Madame Colombier, notwithstanding her esteem and admiration of the young man, never once dreamed of such an alliance for her daughter, as that of a penniless lieutenant of artillery, and therefore discouraged the match. She, however, exhorted the young soldier to follow his high destinies, and on her death-bed renewed her predictions, at a time when the French Revolution opened to him a career in which they were to be fulfilled. Napoleon, in after years, fell in with Mademoiselle Colombier at Lyons, where she was residing with her husband, M. de Bressieux. The Emperor placed her as lady of honour to one of his sisters, and gave an advantageous employment to her husband.

His pre-occupation of the heart, and enlarged circle of acquaintance, in no measure deterred him from pursuing his graver studies, or attracted his attention from those speculations upon both social and political economy in which he was almost wholly absorbed. He anonymously contended for, and bore away the prize at the academy at Lyons, upon this question : " What are the principles and institutions best calculated to advance mankind to the highest attainable happiness ? " proposed by his old friend the abbé Raynal.

The remembrance of this triumph was not at all flattering to the after Emperor, since it appears, when M. de Talleyrand showed him his essay, which he had discovered among the archives of the academy, he unconcernedly threw it into the fire.

The French Revolution broke out : all the enlightened youth of France applauded it with transport ; and this spirit could not fail of inspiring a soldier of whom Paoli had said with so much truth and reason, " that he was fashioned from the ancients, and was one of Plutarch's men." Napoleon was unlike many of his comrades, who beheld with apathy the regeneration of their native country. No doubt the consideration of his future glory and fortune in some measure influenced and directed the formation of his opinions and principles ; for he is recorded to have said to his captain, in joining the insurgent party, that " the revolution was a fine time for military men possessed of courage and spirit." Strongly entertaining some presentiments of his future destiny, he followed the requirements of the time, in ardently embracing the popular party. But in this extreme patriotism, he still nourished in his soul an instinctive aversion for any thing that carried with it the shadow of anarchy, notwithstanding that he joined in the turbulent meetings of the multitude to decry against that power which one day devolved upon himself. On the 20th of June, 1792, he became an eye-witness to the insurrection at Paris. Standing upon one of the terraces at the Tuileries, and seeing Louis XVI. crowned with the cap of liberty by one of the mob, he cried, after a

short but energetic harangue: "How came they to suffer this canaille to enter? They should have blown four or five hundred of them into the air, and the rest would have taken to their heels."

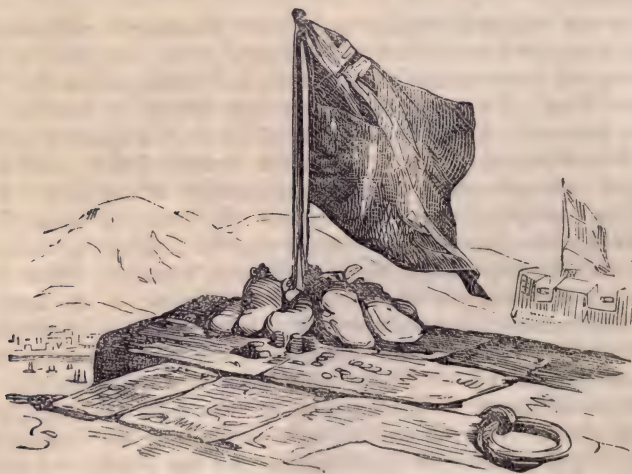
This is to be considered as the violent ebullition of a soldier indignant at the military, who, by promptitude, might have prevented this coarse and disgusting insult from befalling their sovereign. Shortly afterwards, on the 10th of August, the Tuileries was again occupied by the populace, and the disgraceful scene of the 20th of June was again re-acted. Napoleon, a zealous partizan of the French revolution, but at the same time strongly regarding the rules of order, and the considerations of legitimate power, left Paris in disgust, and resided again in Corsica. Paoli was at that time intriguing in that island in favour of England. That predilection for the British code, and his aversion to revolutionary tumults, soon rendered Paoli a suspected character, who was several times accused of an intention to deliver up Corsica to England. The old general, however, was vehemently defended, but the interior tranquillity of the island suffered materially from that struggle. Following the example of the French, the population was divided into aristocrats and democrats, which produced other subdivisions. Those advocating liberty, separated from Paoli's partisans, who had declared for the independence of Corsica; and the latter being decreed traitors by the Convention, were compelled to become such in reality. Bonaparte, however, remained a French citizen, and, without hesitation between the interest or inclination of his friend, and those of his country, ceased to continue the soldier of Paoli, that he might avoid becoming the subject of England.

It was not without infinite pain that Bonaparte abandoned the cause of a man whom he had, for so many years, admired as a hero. Napoleon, on more occasions than one, had undertaken the defence of Pascal Paoli, at the risk of his personal safety, if not life. With his own hands he affixed to the walls of Ajaccio, a spirited refutation of the decree issued by the Convention against Paoli, which document had been advocated by the municipality of the city. By that action, as independent as courageous, he exposed himself to the animadversions of the Commissioners sent to Corsica, in order to put the decree into execution. His attachment, however, to an habitual friendship, did not carry him beyond the limits of his duty. Appointed commandant of the National Guard, and paid by government, he uniformly advocated the cause of France against the national troops in the interest of Paoli, who were not stipendiaries of the French government. That firmness on the part of Bonaparte was never forgiven. Having quelled an insurrection, he was accused of having sought to provoke that disorder, for the purpose of rendering himself useful in repressing it, and obliged to repair for a time to Paris in order to justify his conduct.

Corsica at length yielded to the English flag. Ajaccio was laid in cinders ; and the Bonaparte family, after seeing their house pillaged, and converted into a barrack for the English troops, took refuge in France, and established themselves at Marseilles. Napoleon did not remain long in that town, but hastened his return to Paris, where the events succeeded with such rapidity and violence, that each day and every hour gave the signal for a new crisis.

The south of France had now hoisted the standard of rebellion, and Toulon had been treacherously delivered to the English. General Cartaux was charged by the convention to proceed and re-establish the Province under the laws of the republic, to secure its defeat, and to punish the traitors and rebels. As soon as victory had brought this general to Marseilles, the siege of Toulon was ordered. Napoleon, at the recommendation of the Representative Salicetti, an old friend of the Bonaparte family, was appointed commander of the artillery.

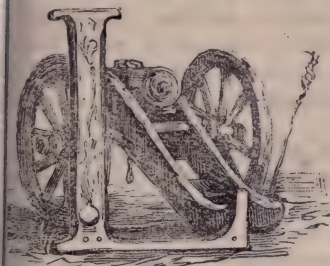
It was about this time that he published, under the title of "Souper de Beaucaire," a small pamphlet of which the memorials of St. Helena say nothing, but which M. de Bourrienne declares he received from Bonaparte himself on his return from Toulon. This pamphlet no doubt contained principles very opposite to those he wished to see established in 1800, as, on attaining the consulate, he bought up all the copies, at a dear rate, and destroyed them.





CHAPTER III.

THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF TOULON — COMMENCEMENT OF THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS. —
DESTITUTION. 1793—1795.



LOOKING at the army encamped under the walls of Toulon, Napoleon was not long in perceiving the band of intrepid volunteers within its ranks, but soon discovered that, however well conditioned the troops were, they boasted not one chief worthy to be their commander.

General Cartaux, who affected a display and magnificence little compatible with republican principles, had, in fact, more ignorance than show. The conquest of Toulon was a task much beyond the reach of his skill; but he was far from being conscious of his incapacity; on the contrary, he gave himself credit for possessing those powers of conception and execution which are particularly requisite in any enterprise. On Bonaparte's arrival, the General inquired what duty he had been appointed to fulfil; when the young officer modestly presented the letter that had been entrusted to him. "This," said Cartaux, twirling his whiskers, "was quite unnecessary; we want no assistance to retake Toulon; however, you are welcome, and may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow without having experienced any of the fatigue."

Napoleon lost no time in making himself acquainted with the exact position of affairs. He soon became convinced that a regular siege was unnecessary, and that the capture of a position called "Little Gibraltar" by the English, and "La Grasse" by the French, would enable them, with fifteen or twenty mortars, thirty or forty pieces of cannon, and furnaces with red-hot balls, to open such a fire upon the roads as must compel the allied squadrons to stand out to sea, and reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering or embarking with

the fleet. "Toulon," he exclaimed, pointing to the spot, on the map, "lies there! two days after the French troops shall have gained possession of that fort the town itself will belong to the Republic." Cartaux protested that the young man knew nothing of geography, and that Toulon lay in quite another direction; but Napoleon's arguments made the desired impression, and henceforth the details of the siege were entrusted to the Commandent of Artillery.

In all the disputes, and many occurred, between Cartaux and Bonaparte, the wife of the general was commonly present, and uniformly took part with the young officer; saying, with great simplicity to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about it than you do; and, as you are the responsible person, the glory he achieves will be yours." The mistakes of Cartaux, and the obstructions he continually threw in the way of Napoleon's prospects, so greatly annoyed him, that at length he expressed a wish that the General would write down his plans; and this called forth the following magniloquent document:—"The Commandant of Artillery shall batter Toulon for three days, at the end of which I will attack with three columns and carry the town." This absurd order was forwarded to the Committee of the Convention, and occasioned the immediate recal of the incompetent General.

The successor of Cartaux, one Doppet, who had been a physician, and who was entirely ignorant of military tactics, disgusted the whole army by his cowardice; and the complaints of the soldiers became so loud, that the Committee of Public Safety found it necessary at length to appoint a more experienced commander. The choice fell upon Dugommier, a veteran officer, "who," says Napoleon, "had seen fifty years of service, was covered with scars, and was as dauntless as the weapon he wore." The new General was not slow in discovering the military genius of the Commander of Artillery, and placed the most unlimited confidence in him. The general attack of the besiegers was made upon Toulon, from the land side, on the 16th of December; when neither the severity of the season, nor the unceasing wetness of the weather, could damp the impetuosity of the French troops; those exhausted by fatigue being continually supplied by fresh reinforcements, during this protracted assault, which continued the major part of the siege. The principal redoubt, defended by two thousand men, was carried on the 17th, though protected by a double row of palisades, an entrenched camp, and a cross fire from three batteries. Bonaparte afterwards established a battery upon the promontory of Aiguillette, which commanded the English fleet; and other positions, occupied by the English, upon the mountains, were carried at the point of the bayonet. Ultimately compelled to abandon the place, the British retired in the night, bearing with them about fourteen thousand of the inhabitants, and on the 20th of December, the French re-entered Toulon.

The vengeance against the insurgents which followed, although mitigated by the exertions of Napoleon, was very severe. The reckless brutality of the Convention spared neither sex nor age; and the richest and most powerful merchants were immolated, and their property confiscated. M. Hughes, a man eighty-four years of age, whose only crime was the possession of wealth, was sent to the scaffold. Napoleon, who was a witness of the execution, alluding to the event, remarked, "At this sight I thought the world was at an end!"

During the siege, Napoleon gave constant proofs of the greatest "sang froid" and the rarest bravery; for it was not only in council that he evinced his wisdom and ability, but he bore them also in the midst of action, and drew as much admiration from the private soldiers by his calm heroism, as astonishment from his generals by the skill and rapidity of his intelligence. This intrepidity caused him to have several horses slain under him, and he was once wounded in the left thigh so severely as to threaten the necessity of amputation.

It was not only on the most important occasions that he displayed this incessant activity; when circumstances required it, he turned his hand to everything, and thought it not derogatory to his transcendent mind, to descend to details in the exigence of the moment. Thus, during the siege he was standing one day near a battery, at which one of the artillerymen was slain; he immediately stepped into his place,



and loaded a dozen times himself. By this circumstance he caught a malignant distemper, of which the dead gunner was infected, and which, after putting his life in danger, occasioned the extreme thinness that he retained during the wars of Egypt and Italy. His restoration was not entirely effected till many years after, by the care and skill of Corvisart.

It was at the siege of Toulon that Napoleon fell in with, and first became attached to Duroc and Junot. The latter attracted notice by the following trait:—The commandant of the artillery had commenced constructing a battery, and having urgent need of writing a few lines upon the spot, he asked a sergeant or corporal, who was standing by, if any one would serve him in the capacity of secretary. A soldier immediately sat down to write, and had nearly completed the letter, when a shell passed swiftly by him, and, breaking the earth at his



feet, scattered it over the paper: "Good," said the soldier, continuing to write: "I shall have no need of sand!" This was Junot, and this proof of courage and coolness served to recommend him to his commander, who afterwards promoted him to the highest rank in the army.

Dugommier, in writing to the Committee of Public Safety, ascribed the successful result of the siege to the talent and activity of Bonaparte, for whom he solicited the post of General of brigade. In this epistle he used these remarkable words:—"Reward and advance this young man, for if you are ungrateful towards him he will promote himself." The request of the veteran was complied with, and Napoleon was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, with the command of the artillery department of the Army of Italy. Before assuming his new command, he was instructed to superintend the erection and repairs of the line of fortifications along the coast of Provence, and the island of Hyeres, and this service he performed with great ability.

In March, 1794, Napoleon joined the army at Nice, where the head-quarters of General Dumerbion, the commander-in-chief, a brave and experienced officer, were situated. This division of the French army was opposed to the forces of Austria and Sardinia, which powers had joined in the coalition, comprising nearly all the states of Europe, against the revolutionary government of France. Immediately after his arrival in the camp, Napoleon visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the position of the enemy. He then drew up a memorial, in which he laid down a plan for repulsing the enemy, and recommended the occupation of some impregnable positions on the high Alps, which would secure the frontier from attack, and enable them to carry the war with advantage into the enemy's country. The adoption of these suggestions led to complete success. The French gained possession of Oneglia, Saorgio, and the Col-di-Tende, and captured upwards of sixty pieces of cannon, a large supply of ammunition, and a quantity of provisions.

Among the Representatives with the army at Nice was one who treated the young soldier with the utmost cordiality. He was accompanied by his wife, a pretty and fascinating woman, and suffered an imprudent familiarity to exist between her and his guest, that might have proved prejudicial both to himself and Napoleon. The lady, nevertheless, continued to enjoy the affectionate attentions of her husband, who was afterwards one of the first to call the notice of the Convention to the conqueror of Toulon, about the time of the 13th Vendémiaire.

Napoleon, after he became Emperor, again saw his lovely hostess of Nice. Time and misfortune had altered, and almost entirely destroyed that beauty which had formerly charmed Napoleon. She was a widow, plunged too in the deepest misery; and the Emperor, with a feeling of liberality, made an ample provision for her.

In recurring to this period of his life Napoleon afterwards said: "I was then very young: I was happy, and proud of my little success, and anxious to show my gratitude by paying every attention in my power. You may now see how I abused my authority, and what may

befal a man—for I am not worse than other folks. Walking with her one day near our positions, in the neighbourhood of the Col-di-Tende, I suddenly thought to amuse her with the sight of a little warfare, and ordered an attack upon one of the out-posts. We were



conquerors, it is true; but that, indeed, might not have been the result, for the attack was ordered without a moment's consideration, and some few men were killed. I never think of this circumstance without severely reproaching myself for it."

The events of the 9th Thermidor for a time arrested Napoleon in the career which he had commenced with so much glory and success. Either his connection with young Robespierre had made him suspected, or his increasing importance had induced his enemies to seize this pretext for effecting his destruction; be it as it might, he was placed under arrest, by order of Albitte, Laporte, and Sallicetti, for having made a journey to Genoa, the object of which was unknown to the colleagues. Declared unworthy of the confidence of the army, and dismissed by the Committee of Public Safety, General Bonaparte did not quietly put up with that accusation and dismissal. He addressed a letter immediately to the Representatives who had arrested him, in which was displayed that haughty, concise, and energetic style, so frequently and easily recognized in all his subsequent conversation and writings. This spirited protest led the Representatives to reflect that they had to do with a man of high capacity, and that it would be, therefore, hopeless to attempt to curb him by arbitrary persecution, without exposing themselves to a protracted and vigorous resistance. Considering therefore the exigencies of the moment, and warned by the suggestions of prudence, Albitte and Sallicetti, together with

General Dumerbion, revoked provisionally their arrest, and pronounced the liberation of General Bonaparte, "whose military and local knowledge," they said, "may be of use to the Republic."

Meanwhile, the Thermidorian reaction having delivered the direction of the military committee to a captain of artillery, named Aubry, Napoleon was suspended from his command, and appointed General of infantry, to serve in La Vendée. Indignant at a change so injurious, and little disposed to devote the talent he was conscious of possessing in so unworthy a service, he hastened, on arriving in Paris, to tender his resignation to the military committee, where he failed not to express himself with much warmth and vehemence. Aubry was inflexible: he told Napoleon that he was young, and that he must make way for his seniors; to which Napoleon responded, that youth soon became age on the field of battle, and that active service might be counted instead of years. The president of the committee, he remarked, had never seen fire.

But this repartee was more calculated to increase the anger of Aubry, than to persuade him. He was inflexible in his determination; and the young officer, no less obstinate, preferred remaining destitute to giving way to injustice.





CHAPTER IV.

DESTITUTION.—THIRTEENTH VENDEMAIRE.—JOSEPHINE.—MARRIAGE.—1795—1796.



It is curious to observe the future dictator of Europe arrested in his career, rendered destitute, and struck out of the list of French generals on active service, by a measure signed by Merlin de Douai, Berlier, Boissyd'Anglas, and Cambacérès, men who one day vied with each other in their zeal to obtain a smile or a gesture of approbation from the young officer whom they now treated with so little consideration and regard.

There was found among the actors of the Thermidor a man who wished not to let those military talents that Bonaparte evinced at Toulon lie idle. This was Pontécoulant, Aubry's successor, who, without risking the reproaches of the ruling faction, employed Napoleon in inventing plans for others to carry into execution. This obscure position, however, did not suit the young warrior, to whom glory and excitement were necessary to existence, and was very soon considered too advantageous and too honourable for the officer whom they had attempted to ruin. Letourneur de la Manche, who succeeded Pontécoulant in the presidency of the military committee, imbibed the old rancour of Aubry, and Napoleon lost all employment.

It was then, despairing of overcoming the jealousies, the prepos-

sessions, and the powerful hatred of which he was the object, and no less unwilling to throw up those capacities for military and political action, of which he felt himself possessed, that, for a moment, he turned his eyes from Europe to cast them towards the East. He felt that he was formed for empire. Nature had endowed him with a mind for conceiving and accomplishing great deeds; and if disappointed in France, the East was still open to his efforts. Filled with this thought, he indited a note, pointing out to the French Government that it was to the interest of the Republic to increase the means of defence of the Porte against the ambitious views of the rest of Europe. "General Bonaparte," said he, "who since his youth has served in the artillery, who commanded it at Toulon and during two campaigns of the army of Italy, offers to depart for Turkey on a mission from the Government. He will be useful to France in his new career; if he can render the Turks more formidable, repair the defences of their principal fortresses, and build others, he will have done good service to his country.

"If a commissioner at war," says M. de Bourrienne, "had signed, 'granted,' at the bottom of this note, that word might have changed the face of all Europe." But the word was not written. Internal politics and party-struggles prevented the Government from giving attention to military plans of which the result was as uncertain as the field was distant; and Napoleon continued to live idly in Paris. His finances at this time were at a very low ebb. He had set up a carriage while at Nice, and this he was compelled to part with to his friend Sallicetti for three thousand francs. Indeed, he was reduced to such straits, that he had some difficulty in maintaining an appearance of respectability. The obstacles and disappointments to which he was exposed, acting on his restless and susceptible spirit, so soured his temper, that he occasionally indulged in observations in which the better feelings of humanity were treated with mockery and derision. It was, however, but a passing cloud; his after life proved that his temporary ill-fortune left no permanent impression of misanthropy on his mind. After the six months of inaction to which he had been condemned, his mind recovered its healthy tone; and in his after life he was always remarkable for his frankness and cheerfulness.

The current of events at length took for him a fortunate direction. The Royalists, aroused and emboldened by the disunion prevalent, incited the people to revolt against the Convention. They were at first successful. General Menou, suspected of treason, and certainly guilty of indecision and incapacity, facilitated the victory of the sectionaries, whom he had been charged to disperse and reduce to submission. This General, accompanied by the Commissioners of the Army of the Interior, marched with a body of troops to the place of meeting of the Section Lepelletier, to dissolve and disarm them.

but finding the insurgents strongly posted in order of battle, he hesitated to attack them; and at length, after a short conference, was glad to make a hasty retreat.



Napoleon had that evening gone to the Theatre Feydeau, where some of his friends informed him of what was passing. He hastened to the scene of action, and, having witnessed the repulse of Menou, repaired to the hall of the Convention, where he found the members in the greatest agitation. From a seat in the gallery he was an unobserved spectator of their proceedings. The Representatives who had been sent with Menou, to exculpate themselves, accused him of treason, and he was, therefore, put under arrest; when in order to repair that failure, every leading representative in turn recommended the general who possessed his confidence. At length Barras, supported by the Representatives who had been with the army at Toulon and at Nice, proposed Napoleon as the officer best qualified to act in the emergency. The nomination being approved by the Assembly, messengers were despatched in search of the General.

According to the "Memorial of Saint Helena," Napoleon deliberated with himself nearly half an hour, whether he should accept or refuse the important situation to which he was called. He did not wish to fight against Vendée, neither could he decide without hesitation to take up arms against the Parisians. "Should the Convention be defeated," he inwardly reflected, "what will result from our great Revolution? The numerous victories, bought with so much blood, would become shameful instead of glorious deeds, and the enemy we have so often conquered will triumph, and overwhelm us with contempt. The defeat of the Convention will crown the

enemy with glory, and at once seal the shame and slavery of the country." These sentiments, the enthusiasm of youth, (being but twenty-five years of age,) his destiny, and his confidence in his own



powers, prevailed. He decided upon accepting the post, presented himself to the committee, and was immediately invested with the command.

Napoleon learned that the army consisted of only five thousand soldiers of all descriptions, having forty pieces of cannon, then at Sablons, which were guarded by only fifteen men. It was after midnight when the General despatched Murat, then major of the 21st light horse, to convey the artillery in question to the garden of the Tuileries. One moment longer would have been too late, as a column of the section Lepelletier, on its march to seize those guns, was only prevented by the timely arrival of Murat and his cavalry.

On the ensuing morning, from six to nine, Napoleon visited all the

posts, placing his artillery at the heads of the Pont Louis XVI., the Pont Royal, the rue de Rohan, the Pont Tournant, &c. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of his little army distributed at the different posts, or in reserve in the garden, and the Place Carrousel. In the mean time, the 'generale' was beat throughout Paris, and the national guards, who formed at all the 'debouches,' were so insolent as to beat the 'generale' on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV. The danger was imminent, and matters, on the 13th Vendémiaire, became every hour more ominous, while the Convention was summoned to dismiss the troops then threatening the populace, and disarm the terrorists. The Tuileries was strictly blockaded, and at a quarter after four, some musket shots were discharged from the Hotel de Noailles, where the sectionaries had introduced themselves.



the balls from which attained the steps of the palace of the Tuileries; and Lefond's column at that precise juncture debouched by the Quai Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. The movement in question was sufficient; the batteries were then ordered to fire, which com-

menced at the Cul de Sac Dauphin, from an eight-pounder, serving as a signal to all the other posts. After several discharges had taken place, St. Roch was carried; Lefond's column routed; the Rue St. Honore, that of St. Florentin, and the adjacent squares, being swept clear by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique, but a few shells discharged from howitzers dislodged them, and, at six o'clock, all was terminated.

On the part of the sectionaires, the loss must have been very considerable, while the conventional forces suffered most at the gate of St. Roch.

Some assemblages still continued on the 14th in the section Lepelletier; but, owing to the promptitude of Napoleon's measures, order was completely restored, and Paris once more became tranquil.

The Convention recompensed its deliverer by appointing him General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. From this day Napoleon foresaw that he should soon have the military strength of France at his disposal; in fact, taking the supreme command of the capital was his first step to the throne.

How changed his fortune in twenty-four hours!—On the 12th Vendémiaire, he had lived in despair at being obliged to turn his mind to things unworthy of him. Driven by vexatious crosses to doubt for the future, and so fatigued by the shackles he met with on the political arena, that he was almost tempted to seek the tranquillity and repose of private life, he was roused to exclaim, when he heard of the marriage of his brother Joseph with the daughter of one of the first merchants of Marseilles: "This Joseph is a lucky rogue!"

On the 14th Vendémiaire, on the contrary, all plebeian ideas had vanished. The man in disgrace to-day found himself possessed of almost supreme power on the morrow; he had become the centre of ambition and political intrigue, as he was the soul of every movement. Having above him only an assembly rapidly declining in the administration of the affairs of state, the young conqueror of the Parisian sections attached to his dawning star the destinies of the revolution.

The earliest use which Napoleon made of his power was to save Menou, whose life was desired by the Committees. Notwithstanding his moderation, the conquered could not forgive them their defeats, but their vengeance was limited to a nickname, and they could only punish him by giving him the epithet, "le Mitrailleur."

The Parisian population considered themselves injured and degraded; a scarcity of food tended to heighten their discontent, and rendered still more unpopular the soldiers who had reduced them to it. "One day, when the distribution of bread failed," says M. de Las-Cases, "and riotous mobs had assembled round the bakers' shops, Napoleon was passing with a party of his officers to watch over the public tranquillity, when a crowd of the people, principally women, surrounded him, calling loudly for bread. As the mob increased, the

cries and threats became more violent, rendering the situation of affairs more critical. At length, an enormously stout and powerful woman made herself particularly remarkable by her gestures and speech. "All this group of fine epauletted fellows," cried she, pointing out



the officers, "care nothing for us; provided they live well themselves, and grow fat, it matters not to them if the people die with hunger." Napoleon interrupted her, "My good woman," said he, "look at me; which is the fattest of the two?" Napoleon was at that time extremely thin. "I was a mere slip of parchment," he observes. An universal laugh disarmed the populace, and Napoleon and his party continued their round.

The influence of the insurrectional movement of the Vendémiaire, and the almost universal recriminations which arose in the bosoms of all parties against the Convention, caused them to order a general disarming of the sections. While this was going forward, a lad about ten or twelve years of age came and entreated the General-in-chief to restore to him the sword of his father, who had served as a general to the Republic, and like so many unoffending victims, had suffered

death by the guillotine. It was Eugene de Beauharnais. Napoleon granted his request, and treated him with much kindness. The youth wept feelingly ; and, having related to his mother the kindness of the General, gratitude prompted her to thank him in person. Madame Beauharnais, who was still young, did not seek in this visit to conceal the grace and attraction for which she was so remarkable in the most brilliant societies in the capital. Napoleon was too much charmed with her not to profit by the advantage which chance had thrown in his way. He spent all his evenings with Josephine, while some wrecks of the ancient aristocracy, which he there met with, were not displeased with the little "mitrailleux." When most of the company had retired, a few intimate friends remained, such as M. de Montesquion and the Duke of Nivernais, to converse privately of the old court, and of a tour to Versailles.

It was not a mere acquaintance, nor the attachment of a day, that Napoleon had formed for Madame Beauharnais. The most ardent love had taken possession of his soul, and his marriage with her took place on the 9th of March, 1796. A strange prediction had been made concerning Josephine, while she was yet a girl. A negress had foretold that she would one day be greater than a queen. This was a circumstance she was fond of relating, without appearing too credulous. Her union with Bonaparte was the first step towards the fulfilment of the prophecy.





CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF ITALY.—MONTENOTTE.—ARCOLA.—RIVOLI.—VENICE.—TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO. 1796—1797.



CHERER, the General-in-chief of the army of Italy, had compromised the arms and honour of the Republic by his military incapacity. By his mismanagement he had suffered the horses to perish for want of subsistence, and the army to become destitute of every necessary; in consequence they could no longer maintain their position on the coast of Genoa. The Directory were unable to supply them with money or food, and to put an end to their distress sent them a new General; happily for the soldiers this was Napoleon, whose genius speedily supplied the place of everything.

Bonaparte quitted Paris on the 21st of March, 1796, leaving the command of the Army of the Interior to an old General named Hatri. He had already formed his plan for the campaign, and resolved to penetrate into Italy by the valley which separates the peaks of the Alps and the Appenines, and by a disunion of the Austro-Sardinian army, compel the Imperial forces to cover Milan, and the Piedmontese to protect their capital. He arrived at Nice by the end of March; the head-quarters, which had been in this town since the commencement of the campaign, were fixed at Albenga.

(The French army of Italy was then about thirty-one thousand strong, while nearly three times that number were opposed to them,

having two hundred pieces of cannon. The character of the French troops was excellent; but the cavalry wretchedly mounted, and very deficient in artillery. They possessed no means of transporting military stores from the arsenals; all the draught horses having perished through want. The poverty of the French finances was so great, that every effort resorted to by the government was only capable of furnishing two thousand louis in specie to the military chest; while an order was issued for all the general officers to receive the wretched pittance of four louis each, by way of outfit. The supply of bread was uncertain, that of meat had long ceased; as, for the purposes of conveyance, their remained only two hundred mules, and it was consequently impossible to think of transporting more than twelve pieces of cannon.

"Soldiers," said Napoleon, on reviewing his troops for the first time, "you are naked, and without food; your country owes you much, but she has not the means of paying you your own. Your patience and courage amidst these rocks are deserving of admiration; but it procures you no glory. I am come to lead you to the most fertile plains in the world. Wealthy provinces, large towns will be in our power; and there you will acquire riches, honour, and glory. Soldiers of Italy! will you be wanting in courage?"



This language was received with enthusiasm, and restored hope to the army. The General-in-chief profited by it; and assumed a high

tone towards the senate of Genoa, of which he demanded the passage of the Bouchetta, and the keys of Gavi.

On the 8th of April, he thus wrote to the Directory: "I found this army not only destitute of everything, but without discipline; their insubordination and discontent were such, that the malcontents had formed a party for the Dauphin, and were singing songs opposed to the tenets of the Revolution. You may, however, rest assured that peace and order will be re-established; by the time you receive this letter, we shall have come to an engagement." All went on as Bonaparte had foreseen and promised.

The enemy's army was commanded by Beaulieu, a distinguished officer, who had acquired some reputation in the campaigns of the North. Learning that the French army, which, until now, had with difficulty defended itself, had suddenly changed its plan to the offensive, and was boldly preparing to force the gates of Italy, he hastened to quit Milan, and fly to the assistance of Genoa. Posted at Novi, where he had established his head-quarters, he divided his army into three bodies, and published a manifesto, which the French General sent to the Directory, saying he would reply to it "the day after the battle."



This battle took place on the 11th, at Montenotte; signaling at one blow the brilliant commencement of the campaign; it procured

for the Republican General his first victory, and that from which he dated the origin of his nobility.

Succeeding conflicts were to him only opportunities for fresh success; Bonaparte having conquered on the 14th at Millésimo, and on the 16th at Dego, found that he had not only replied to the manifesto of Beaulieu the day after the battle, but had gained three triumphs in four days. On the night of the battle of Dego, he sent to the Directory an account of his rapid and glorious operations, not forgetting to mention the valiant conduct displayed by the officers under his command, viz: Joubert, Massena, Augereau, Menard, La Harpe, Rampon, Lannes, and others.

"We have at present," he concluded, "made from seven to nine thousand prisoners, amongst whom is a Lieutenant-General and twenty or thirty Colonels, or Lieutenant-Colonels.

"The enemy have had from two thousand to two thousand five hundred killed.

"I will send you as soon as possible the details of this glorious action, and of the men who have particularly distinguished themselves."

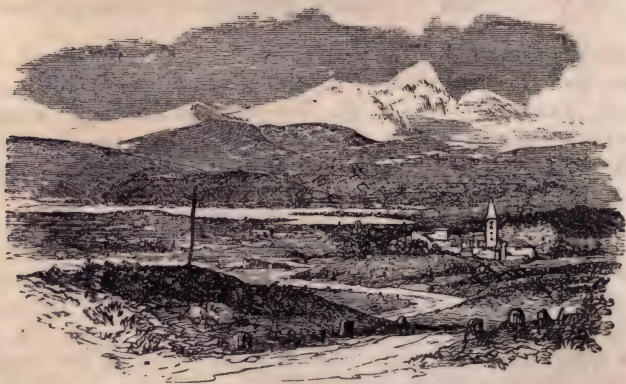
The result of those brilliant days, in which the names of Joubert, Massena, and Augereau, were, for the first time, gloriously revealed to France, was the cutting off the vanguard of the enemy commanded by Provéra, and making him lay down his arms; the preparing the disjunction of the Austrians and the Piedmontese; and the opening to the Republican troops of the road to Milan and Turin.

Leaving a sufficient force to keep Beaulieu in check, Napoleon now directed his main army against the Sardinian forces. The Piedmontese army, commanded by General Colli, concentrated near Ceva, occupied an entrenched camp, protected by numerous redoubts, and defended by eight thousand men. Several positions in the vicinity of Ceva were captured on the 16th of April; and on the ensuing day Augereau's division attacked the redoubts of Ceva. Colli, fearful of being turned, evacuated his camp in the night; and on the 18th, Serrurier entered Ceva, and invested the citadel. Colli, in the mean time, had taken a formidable position at the junction of the Corsaglia and the Tanaro; having broken the bridges, and covered the banks of those rivers with strong batteries, which occasioned the retreat of Augereau and Massena towards Ceva with some loss.

Napoleon, thus prevented from advancing upon Mondovi, vainly employed a variety of manœuvres to draw Colli from his stronghold. On the night of the 21st, he ordered Massena to pass the Tanaro, who took possession of Lezegno, while Generals Guieux and Fiorella seized upon the bridge La Torre. Augereau, marching to Alba, was hastening to place himself between the Piedmontese army under Colli and Turin, both of which he threatened at the same time; when Colli, fearing the issue of a general battle, left his intrenched camp

during the night, and fell back upon Mondovi. That movement did not escape the vigilance of Bonaparte, who caused him to be pursued by General Serrurier, when the latter came up with the rear of the Piedmontese army, at daybreak on the 22nd, upon the heights of Vico. The Piedmontese centre, covered by redoubts, was attacked and taken by Generals Fiorella and Dammartin, while General Guieux manœuvred towards Mondovi. General Colli again abandoned the field of battle, and retreated through Mondovi, which, in the evening, was in possession of the French. On the side of the latter, they had to regret the death of General Stengel, mortally wounded at the head of his cavalry, while vigorously pursuing the flying enemy.

From the heights of Montezemoto, of which Augereau took possession on the same day that Serrurier had forced Colli to abandon his fortified camp at Ceva, the General-in-chief directed the attention of his army to the soaring peaks which the snow rendered visible in the distance, and which rose like magnificent cascades of ice above



the richly cultivated plains of Piedmont. "Hannibal forced the Alps," said he, regarding these mountains, "and we shall have turned them."

Cherasco, the next place to which Colli retreated, did not hold out long against Massena, as he entered that place on the 5th of April. Fossano, the enemy's head-quarters, was taken possession of by Serrurier, while Augereau's division seized upon Alba; by which successes the French army was within nine leagues of Turin, and plentifully supplied with every necessary; to protect which city, Colli retired to Carignan.

Shut up in his capital, with the wreck of an army beaten every time it had fought, Victor Amadeus the Third appeared resolved to sustain a siege; fortunately, however, he did not persist in that

imprudent resolution. Aware that it was necessary to seek the means of safety in negotiation, when it could no longer be expected from arms, he resigned himself to his fate. Colli was, therefore, authorized, by the aged monarch, to propose an armistice to the French general, during which the treaty of peace should be carried on at Genoa, under the mediation of the Court of Spain—the king hoping by those means to gain time, in order to profit by his own resources, or obtain succour from his allies.



Bonaparte answered, that the Directory having reserved to itself the right of making war, the king must send plenipotentiaries to Paris. In the meanwhile, he made every disposition for a general engagement, that must have decided the fate of Amadeus, who eventually yielded to the propositions of the conqueror; and the strongholds of Coni, Tortoni, and Alessandria, were given up to the French, until the conclusion of a general peace.

What a number of advantages gained in a single month! the Republic had no longer cause to fear for its ports or frontiers; it now in its turn made those monarchs tremble in their capitals who had so

lately threatened it with destruction; and this change had taken place with surprising rapidity, without fresh resources, with an exhausted army, in want of provisions, artillery, and cavalry. This miracle was the joint achievement of the genius of a great man and of liberty, which presented him with soldiers and officers worthy of his command.

The French army were full of admiration for their young commander, but were nevertheless anxious for the future in the midst of their unparalleled success, knowing the slender means which they possessed to enable them to follow this brilliant course of fortune, and for attempting an enterprise so difficult as the conquest of Italy. To dispel this uneasiness, and restore the enthusiasm of his troops, Napoleon addressed to them from Cherasco the following proclamation:

“Soldiers! in fifteen days you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners, and killed or wounded upwards of ten thousand men. Hitherto, you have fought for barren rocks, rendered famous by your valour, but useless to your country. Your services now equal those of the victorious armies of Holland and the Rhine. You have provided yourselves with everything of which you were destitute; you have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. Republican phalanxes, soldiers of Liberty, could alone have borne what you have suffered. Your grateful country will be partly indebted to you for its prosperity, and, if your conquest of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories presage a still nobler.

“The two armies which but lately audaciously attacked, now fly before you in consternation. But, soldiers! it is useless to dissimulate. You have done nothing, while aught remains to be done. Neither Turin nor Milan are yours; the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trampled upon by the assassins of Basseville! You have taken numerous magazines from your enemies; you are provided with artillery, both for carrying on a siege, and for the field. Soldiers! your country has a right to expect great achievements from you. Will you fulfil its expectations? The greatest obstacles, doubtless, are surmounted; but you have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross. Is there one whose courage fails him? Is there one who would prefer returning to the summits of the Alps and Appenines, to endure patiently the insults of yonder slavish soldiers? No! amongst the conquerors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dégó and Mondovi, there is not one. All are burning to extend the glory of the French name. Friends! I promised to lead you to conquest; but there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil: it is to respect the people whom you liberate; it is to repress the

horrible pillage to which the wretches, incited by your enemies, abandon themselves. Without this you will not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourge; instead of reflecting honour on the French nation, you will be disowned by it. Your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of your brethren killed in battle, all will be sacrificed—even honour and glory. But, invested as I am with the national authority, I will compel that handful of dishonest, cowardly, heartless men, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they would trample on. I will not suffer brigands to sully your laurels! Pillagers shall be shot without mercy.

“People of Italy! the French army come to break your chains; the people of France are the friends of all nations; confide in them. Your property, your religion, and your customs shall be respected. We make war only with the tyrants who enslave you.”

It was at a distance of ten leagues only from Turin that Napoleon spoke with so much confidence, and, as it were, took possession of Italy. The king of Sardinia hastened to open active negotiations. He despatched the Count de Revel to Paris, with instructions to procure a ratification of the peace. Napoleon had already sent Murat, chief of a squadron of horse, to the capital, charged with a report of the victories which had signalized the opening of the campaign: “You can,” he wrote to the Directory, “make peace on your own terms with the king of Sardinia; if you intend dethroning him, you must delay communicating with me for about ten days, when I will take immediate possession of Valencia and march upon Turin.

“I shall send twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu.”

The representatives of the nation, on receiving this message, decreed, for the fifth time in six days, that the army of Italy deserved well of the country. The peace with the king of Sardinia soon added to the public joy. It was signed on the 15th of May, most advantageously for France.

Bonaparte, having now only the Imperial forces to contend with, determined to march at once for the Adige, with that daring celerity which had in a few days rendered him master of the finest provinces of the Sardinian monarchy; and wrote the following to the Directory: —“I march to-morrow against Beaulieu; I shall compel him to repossess the Po; and crossing immediately after, shall take possession of all Lombardy; in less than a month I hope to be in the Tyrol, to meet with the army of the Rhine, and, in concert with it, carry the war into Bavaria.”

Deceived by appearances, Beaulieu did not imagine the French could pass the Po, between the Ticino and the Adda, either at Cremona or Plaisance. Bonaparte, however, suddenly advanced to Castello San Giovanni. He arrived there on the 6th of May, at eleven at night, and by seven in the morning was at Plaisance. Impatient

to pass the river Po, the French threw themselves into light barks, and the intrepid Lannes, at the head of the grenadiers, charged the Austrian hussars on the other side, and forced them to retreat. In the course of the day, the whole French army passed that river without difficulty.

Well aware that his conquest would never be consolidated till the Austrian army was totally vanquished, and deprived of all their Italian possessions, Bonaparte hastened towards Lodi, on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. On the approach of the French, the Imperialists abandoned the town of Lodi with such precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge.

This bridge, a hundred toises in length, although not destroyed, was scarcely less difficult to pass. It was defended by ten thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. Full of confidence in his artillery, the Austrian general had left only one battalion, and some squadrons of cavalry in advance of this bridge, to dispute the passage with the French; General D'Allemagne, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked them, and forced them to repossess the Adda.



They contrived, however, to bring up a number of cannon, and to establish formidable batteries, by means of which they obtained a cross fire, that rendered the passage hazardous in the extreme; and it was the opinion of the best French engineers, that it ought not to be

attempted. But after a cannonade had been tried in vain, no obstacles could resist the impetuosity of the soldiers, or their leaders; for on the 10th of May, 1796, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had proceeded six hundred feet, exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape shot, that their foremost ranks were entirely swept away; and the troops, who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace with bent heads and extended bayonets, were staggered, and began to hesitate. At this critical moment, the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, starting from their ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte in person placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the troops rushed by their generals with resistless impetuosity, amidst the cries of "Vive la Republique!" In a few moments the fate of the day was decided; the Austrian line was broken; their death-spreading batteries seized; and the Imperial troops stood petrified at the successful madness of the enterprise. "Of all the actions in which the troops under my command have been engaged," said Bonaparte, in his despatches to the Directory, "none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi. If we have lost," continued he, "but a few soldiers, it has been owing merely to the promptitude of our attacks, and the sudden effect produced on the enemy by the formidable fire of our invincible army." After the battle, Bonaparte having demanded the names of the carabiniers who had distinguished themselves the most, they sent him the muster roll of the battalion. Among the grenadiers, one named Laforge threw himself into the enemy's entrenchments, and killed six hulaus with his own hand.

This battle was the prelude to the conquest of Lombardy. In a few days Pizzighitone, Cremona, and all the principal towns of the Milanese, fell into the hands of the French army.

In the midst of encampments and the clash of arms, Napoleon, whom common minds would have considered overwhelmed by his military and political operations, displayed great solicitude for the fine arts, and requested the Directory to appoint a committee of artists to select the master pieces which his victories placed at their disposal. The duke of Parma, anxious to conciliate Napoleon, had sued for his protection; which was granted, on condition that he should pay two millions of livres, and furnish sixteen hundred horses and a large quantity of provisions for the French army. He was also required to concede twenty of the best works of art in his dominions as contributions towards the French National Museum. This was the first instance in modern warfare of any demand for such a tribute; and its prudence and policy may certainly be questioned. The Italians, above all other people, are distinguished for their love of art; and the abstraction of their treasured master-pieces was viewed with the

greatest indignation, exciting strong prejudices against the spoliators, and probably "turning back many a half-made convert from the principles of the French Revolution." So strongly was the injury felt, indeed, that the Parmese commissioners offered to redeem the St. Jerome of Corregio, which was among those selected for exportation, at the price of two millions of francs, (upwards of eighty thousand pounds sterling.)

It was not only for the progress and prosperity of the fine arts that Napoleon felt interested; all that appertained to the field of knowledge, the cultivation of letters and science, the cause of modern civilization, held a place in his thoughts. A fortnight after the passage of the Po, amid the roar of the cannon of Lodi, and the smoke from the camp of Mantua, he withdrew himself from that universal bustle of which he was the centre, to his head-quarters at Mantua, in order to write to the celebrated and learned geometrician Oriani, the following remarkable letter.

TO CITIZEN ORIANI.

"Science, which honours the human mind, and the fine arts, which serve to embellish life, and transmit great actions to posterity, should be held in especial regard, particularly under a free government. All men of genius, and all those who have obtained distinction in the republic of letters, are brothers, whatever may be their country, and in whatever condition of life they may have been born. The learned men of Milan have not enjoyed the consideration to which they were entitled. Buried in the recesses of their laboratories, they esteemed themselves happy if kings and priests left them unharmed. It is no longer thus: Italy is now free; there is no longer either Inquisition, intolerance, or despotism. I invite men of science to unite and lay before me their views, and the steps which they consider necessary to be taken in order to restore vigour to the fine arts. All those who wish to repair to France, shall be received there with distinction by the government. The French nation set a greater price on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, of a painter of note, of a distinguished man, of whatever profession, than on the wealthiest and most flourishing town.

"Citizen, make these sentiments known to the learned men of Milan.

"BONAPARTE."

But if this taste, this great activity of mind, which displayed an universality of genius, filled alike the friends and enemies of France with astonishment and admiration, it did not fail to inspire with alarm the jealous government which then ruled the Republic. The Directory foresaw their defeat by the conqueror of Montenotte and Lodi, and determined to put off the day to the utmost. With this view they wished to divide the command, by appointing Kellerman

to a division of the Army of Italy. But Bonaparte was not deceived as to the intention of the Directory; and in a letter he confided his dissatisfaction to those of the Directors whose character, services, and wisdom had inspired him with esteem. "I consider," he wrote to Carnot, "that to join Kellerman with me in Italy would be to lose all. I cannot act willingly with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe; and besides, in my opinion, one bad general is better than two good ones. War is like government; it is an affair requiring tact."

This letter being sent, Napoleon continued to act and carry out his plans, according to his own views. He made his triumphal entry into



Milan on the 15th of May, the same day on which the peace with Sardinia was signed at Paris, amid shouts of welcome from an immense concourse of people.

The Directory dared not carry out their project of associating Kellerman with him in the command, but contented themselves by appointing the latter Governor-general of the countries ceded to France by the late treaty with his Sardinian majesty; and Bonaparte retained undisturbed the command in chief of the Army of Italy.

After having employed eight days in providing for the army, and in forming a provisional government for Lombardy, Bonaparte left Milan, and a sufficient number of troops to blockade the Austrians in the citadel. His progress, however, was delayed a short time in quelling a formidable insurrection which had broken out in Pavia.

Beaulieu had established himself in a very advantageous position between the Lake of Guarda and Mantua. To defend the passage of the Mincio, his whole line had been carefully garnished with batteries. He was also master of Peschiera, a Venetian fortress, and of the bridges of Revolta, Goita, and Borghetto. His army had been augmented by a reinforcement of twenty thousand choice troops sent to defend Mantua. It was also remarked, that among the generals that Bonaparte had to contend with, were Colli and Melas. The

head-quarters of the French army having been transferred to Brescia on the 28th of May, the war was now to be carried on upon the Venetian territory. Bonaparte, whose intention was to cross the Mincio in the centre of the Austrian line, and to force the bridge of the Borghetto, manœuvred in such a manner as to draw the attention of the enemy to some other point, and to induce General Beaulieu to suppose, that in pushing his right towards Riva, he wished to turn him by the head of Lake de Guarda, in order to cut him off from the road leading to the Tyrol. All the divisions of the army were therefore kept back, so that the right, by which he meant to attack, was at the distance of a day and a half's march from the Imperialists, and posted behind the Chiesa, where it seemed to act merely on the defensive. According to this plan, General Rusca had advanced northward to Salo, with a demi-brigade of light infantry, while General Kilmaine, with fifteen hundred cavalry, frequently approached the walls of Peschiera, skirmishing with the Austrian advanced posts.



On the 29th of May, Augereau's division replaced that of Kilmaine at Dezenzano, which fell back to Castiglione. Massena then moved

to Monte Chiaro, Serrurier to Monza ; and two hours after midnight, all the divisions were marching towards Borghetto. The approach to this position was defended by three or four thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The French cavalry, flanked by the carabiniers and grenadiers, who followed in order of battle, charged the enemy's horse, threw them into disorder, and took one piece of cannon. The Austrians then passed the bridge in precipitation, and broke down one of its arches. Whilst the French were labouring to repair the bridge under the fire of the enemy's batteries, impatient of delay, fifty grenadiers threw themselves into the river, holding their muskets over their heads with the water up to their chins ; General Gardanne,



a grenadier in courage as well as in stature, was at their head. The Austrians, recollecting the terrible column at Lodi, precipitately retreated. The bridge was repaired, the river passed, and in a few minutes the French entered Valeggio, where Beaulieu's head-quarters had been a short time before.

An incident occurred at Valeggio which was very near compensating the Austrians for their ill fortune. The French army had passed through the village in pursuit of the enemy, and were some distance in advance. Napoleon, fatigued with the day's exertions, had taken up his quarters at a chateau, where he was using a foot-bath, which had been prescribed as a remedy for headache, when a corps of Austrians, which had been stationed at Puzzolo, and had heard the

cannonade, marched to the scene of action to assist their commander-in-chief. Their advanced guard proceeded as far as the quarters of Bonaparte before they were discovered, and the sentinel on duty had barely time to shut the gates and alarm the inmates. Napoleon hurried through the garden at the back of the house, with only one boot on, and galloped towards Massena's division, which had not yet crossed the river, and was busily engaged preparing dinner. The drums instantly beat to arms, and the Austrians precipitately retired, little dreaming what a rich prize had escaped their grasp. This incident led to the formation of the celebrated corps of "Guides," a body of picked veterans of at least ten years' service, whose duty it was to guard the person of the General-in-chief. This body was the germ of the Imperial Guard, which formed so important an element in the Grand Army of the Emperor.

Bonaparte was now disposed to use the relaxation afforded him by the Austrians, in putting a stop to the insurrections which had been gathering in his rear. The secondary powers were disposed to follow the example of the King of Sardinia. Naples treated on the 7th of June. An armistice deprived the Austrian army of two thousand five hundred cavalry, and the English fleet of five ships of the line and several frigates. A bull issued by the Pope disavowed the fanatics who, under the pretext of religion, fomented a civil war in France; in fact, the Pope himself entered into negotiations with the excommunicated. Bonaparte nevertheless pursued the course of his operations against Rome. Whilst he took possession of Ferrara, Augereau occupied Bologna, Adjutant General Vignolle seized upon the castle of Urbino. The Popish garrisons in all these places surrendered at the first summons; but not for want of the means of defence. Whilst Augereau took possession of the Legations, General Vaubois entered Reggio, and clearing the Apennine, marched to Rome, of which he took possession. The papal government was compelled to submit to very hard conditions. Besides the Legations, she ceded Ancona to the French, and agreed to shut her ports against the coalesced powers, and gave to the commissaries of the Directory the right of choosing an hundred pieces of painting and sculpture in its libraries and museums. This was the first time Rome had been made tributary to France; but she was now to pay twenty millions in money and other articles.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, so far from showing any resentment in consequence of this measure, invited Bonaparte soon after to Florence, where he partook of a splendid entertainment, during which an officer brought him despatches, announcing the surrender of the castle of Milan.

The Austrian government, finding Beaulieu incompetent to withstand so skilful a strategist as the French General, deprived him of the command, and appointed Wurmsur, who was considered the best

General in the Austrian army, to succeed him. The aged Marshal was furnished with thirty thousand men from the army of the Rhine, which, added to the remnant of Beaulieu's troops, the garrison of Mantua, and the recruits sent in from the different dependencies of the empire, raised the forces at his command to nearly a hundred thousand men. Napoleon had little more than thirty thousand to meet this overwhelming force, and for the first time was compelled to act on the defensive.

Wurmsur crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Salo and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and evacuate their posts with some loss. Bonaparte seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia.

These partial advantages did not alarm Bonaparte. Wurmsur's march had scarcely commenced, when Napoleon formed the plan to which he not only owed his safety, but that series of successes which were crowned by the victory of Castiglione. His principal officers could not bear the idea of leaving the besieging artillery behind them at Mantua; when, full of confidence, whilst every other person was almost in despair, he said to Berthier, "we shall retake all that is here, and all that is there," pointing to the artillery on the ramparts.

The Austrians being now masters of the heights and left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, without exposing the troops to the hazard of being surrounded. Bonaparte therefore ordered them to fall back, and assembled all his forces at Roverbella. But whilst thus retrograding, parties of hulans had spread on the French rear, and pushed forward on the road to Milan. In this critical situation, he felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure. The Austrians, by descending from the Tyrol by way of Brescia and the Adige, had placed the French in the centre; but it was possible, by a rapid retrograde movement, to surround the Austrian division approaching Brescia; it was also necessary to recross the Mincio without delay.

At this period the left of the French army under Joubert and Massena had been beaten, and the two generals obliged to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. Napoleon, pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France nearly cut off; he was, besides, placed between two armies, each more numerous than his own. Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in the rear of the enemy, was of no use to him. The division of Serrurier, engaged in the siege of Mantua, and that of Augereau, appointed to support him, were threatened by Wurmsur and the garrison of Mantua. In this situation the soldiers were astonished, when assembled in the presence of their chief, to find no alteration in his

countenance. "On what does he found his hopes?" said they, "unless he be more than man, how can he possibly save us?"

"Fear nothing," said Napoleon, "show that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, in three days we shall retake all that we have lost. Rely on me, you know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word."

The enthusiasm of the army being now equal to its surprise, Napoleon immediately availed himself of circumstances, and conceived one of those plans which alone would be sufficient to constitute him a great General. He totally abandoned the line of the Adige, gave Augereau orders to march on Brescia, and told his soldiers, "that if they wished to obtain the victory, it was with their legs alone that it could now be gained." The speed with which they advanced was astonishing. Wurmser had hardly reached Mantua, when the whole French army, which the evening before was divided, turned, and in imminent danger, formed a junction at Brescia, which was retaken.

Wurmser having re-entered Mantua, under the idea that his right wing had obliged the French to retire, was much surprised to find that his troops had been beaten at Lonado and Brescia. To succour them, he advanced, on the 2nd of August, towards Castiglione. General Valette, posted there with fifteen hundred men, had orders to resist, but, notwithstanding, retired with the loss of a number of men. "What have you done with your comrades?" said Bonaparte, to the soldiers that returned. "We," said they, "did not command—we obeyed." Valette was suspended, but continued to serve as a private grenadier, until reinstated in his rank.

The battle of Lonado occurred on the 3rd of August: at day-break, the whole of the French army were in motion. Augereau moved with the right wing towards Castiglione: General Guieux, with the left, retook Salo, and thus held Wurmser's right in check. Massena, who was in the centre at Calcinato, marched towards Lonado. General Pigeon, who commanded the French advanced guard, had been made prisoner with three pieces of cannon. At the moment when the Austrians were extending their line, Bonaparte sent forward in close columns the 18th and 32nd demi-brigades, which being supported by a strong reserve, broke the enemy's line of battle. The artillery and the prisoners made under General Pigeon, were retaken, and the French entered Lonado. Junot, Bonaparte's first aide-de-camp, was sent in pursuit of the fugitive Austrians, at the head of a company of Guides. Coming up with the hulans of Bender, he had already wounded their colonel, when, attacked on all sides, he was thrown into a ditch covered with wounds, but not till he had killed six of the enemy with his own hands. Still, apparently with the voice of a dying man, he continued to exclaim, "You are all my prisoners." From this situation he was

relieved by his dragoons, and conveyed to the head quarters. The Austrian division that had been beaten, took the route to Salo; but Salo being in possession of the French, they wandered among the mountains, and mostly fell into the hands of the victors.



Augereau, however, had seized upon Castiglione, and maintained himself there against a force double in number. On this day the Austrians lost twenty pieces of cannon, three or four thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, and among these three generals. But though separated and beaten, the Austrian army was not annihilated.

Wurmser, who was still able to collect twenty-five thousand men, and a numerous cavalry, indulged the hope of retrieving his fortunes. Bonaparte on his side was making arrangements for a general engagement, and for that purpose repaired to Lonado, to see what troops he could collect there. He had scarcely entered, when an Austrian flag of truce arrived to summon the commandant to surrender. The place was in fact surrounded by forces much superior to those within it. This was an embarrassing situation for Bonaparte; however, with admirable presence of mind, he collected his numerous staff around him, and ordering the officer who brought the flag of truce to be brought before him, and to have the bandage taken from his eyes:—"Your General-in-Chief," said he, "has the presumption to summon the General-in-Chief of the army of Italy! Let him advance. If he presume to insult the French army, I am here to avenge it.

Tell him that he and his corps are my prisoners ; that one of his own columns is cut off at Salo, and another by the passage of Brescia to Trent, and that if in eight minutes he does not lay down his arms, he shall be shot with his whole corps. Undeceive your commander, and let him see General Bonaparte at the head of his brave republican army ; tell your General that will be the highest reward he can expect."



While every one was preparing for the attack, the commander of the enemy's army requested a capitulation. "No," replied Bonaparte ; "you are a prisoner of war." The commandant wished to expostulate, but already the light artillery were advancing, and he cried out, "We yield." Thus twelve hundred French gained a victory over four thousand of the enemy's force, and defended also by four pieces of cannon.

This strange adventure, soon known to the whole army, contributed not a little to inflame the courage of the troops. At five in the morning of the 5th of August, the two armies were in presence of each other. Bonaparte, by a retrograde motion, having drawn Wurmser after him, Serrurier's division turned and attacked his left. Verdière was ordered to take a redoubt on the left flank ; and at the

first charge, the Austrians abandoned their guns and precipitately retreated. The right being attacked by Massena, and the centre by Augereau, the French were soon victorious upon every point. This battle terminated what has been called "The Campaign of Five Days," during which Wurmser lost seventy pieces of cannon, and more than twenty thousand men.

Victory having thus declared for the French, after the most obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy, Wurmser, evacuating Roveredo and Trent, took refuge in Mantua, and the siege of that city was renewed.

These wonderful events raised all the people of Italy, who had manifested sympathy for the French Revolution, to the highest degree of enthusiasm. The partisans of Austria were overthrown; they had had the imprudence to testify their joy on seeing Wurmser arrive, and, trusting to the immense superiority in numbers of the Imperialists, celebrated, in anticipation, the defeat of the French, and



their expulsion from the Peninsula. Cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, was one of those. He had done more than rejoice at the

approach of the Austrians: he had excited the populace, over whom he exercised a pacific authority, to acts of hostility against the French army. After the battle of Castiglione, Napoleon had him arrested, and conducted to Brescia. The Italian priest, warned by the failure of his insurrectional manœuvres, and by the defeat of his friends, did not shrink from humbling himself before the conqueror, and suing for mercy. This apparent contrition succeeded, and Napoleon was satisfied with imprisoning him for three months. He was a Roman prince by birth, and was, after this event, charged with the full powers of the holy see at Tolentino.

But this high priesthood was far from representing the spirit and disposition of the Italians towards France. In Piedmont, in Lombardy, and the Legations, the tenets of the Revolution had found numerous proselytes. The Milanese, in particular, had shown themselves favourable to the Republican flag. The General-in-chief



openly testified his gratitude: "When the army beat a retreat," he wrote to them, "a few partisans of Austria, and the enemies of freedom, looked upon it as irrevocably lost; when it was impossible for you to suspect that this retreat was a mere stratagem, you evinced your attachment to France and your love of liberty. You have displayed a zeal and a character which have won for you the esteem of the army; and you will deserve the protection of the French Republic.

"Each day your people render themselves more worthy of liberty; each day they acquire fresh energy. Receive this testimony of my satisfaction, with the sincere vow the French nation have made to see you free and happy."

Napoleon did not rest satisfied with simply complimenting them, but turned their favourable disposition to the service of themselves

and to the French Republic, the cause of universal emancipation, by organizing the Revolution beyond the Alps, and by the foundation of Transalpine and Cisalpine Republics.

But Wurmser was not abandoned in the difficult position to which he was reduced. The Emperor of Austria considered him the most skilful and the most experienced of his generals; he knew, also, that Mantua was the key to his dominions. New efforts were, therefore, made at Vienna to repair the disasters of the first expedition. A fresh army of Imperialists, consisting of about sixty thousand men, under the command of Marshal Alvinzi, a veteran of high reputation, hastened to the assistance of Mantua.

At the first report of the march of this army, Napoleon complained bitterly that his advice had not been followed with respect to the Rhine, where the Republican troops were capable of making a useful diversion. He had earnestly demanded succours, and none had been sent. Although he placed the utmost confidence in himself and his troops, he considered that he ought to express some doubts to the Directory as to the issue of the new campaign, that the French government might comprehend the probable consequences of their misconduct towards the army of Italy, which they had neglected in the midst of its innumerable triumphs.



He was now anxious to capture Mantua before it could be relieved, and had some thoughts of entering the place by night. Some grenadiers were to embark upon the lake, and seize upon one of the gates, whilst the attention of the besieged was to have been excited by a false attack elsewhere. But as the water suddenly sunk

more than three feet, this project fell to the ground. Bonaparte confided the blockade to General Sahuguet.

The affair of Seravalla, and the attack upon the camp at Mori, occurred soon after. Murat, Leclerc, and Dubois, signalized themselves by a feat of arms apparently belonging to romance: the two former falling in with a column of the enemy during the night, and with only twelve carabiniers and three chasseurs, they took prisoners one hundred hussars and four hundred foot of a regiment of Wurmser. General Dubois, whilst executing a charge of an important nature at Seravalla, was struck by three balls at the head of his victorious squadron. "I die," said he, "for the Republic," pressing the hand of the General-in-chief. "I only wish to know that our victory is complete." He had but a moment to live, and his desire was gratified.

Bonaparte took possession of Trent in the name of France, and seized all the property that belonged to the Emperor and Prince Bishop. The route to the Tyrol had been opened to the French by the battle of Roveredo. But though Wurmser was not in sufficient force to oppose this movement, he had the address to detain the conquerors in Italy, probably with the view of preventing them extending the war to the Danube.

The old General, notwithstanding the sagacity of his plan, committed more than one fault in its execution. The French, after beating the Austrians in the gorges of the Brenta, at Primolano, at Solagna, and carrying the fort of Covelò, on the 8th of September marched towards Bassano, where Wurmser had his head-quarters. Whilst Augereau penetrated the town on his left, Massena entered it on his right, and seized the cannon that defended the bridge on the Brenta, overthrowing the old grenadiers who attempted to cover the retreat of their general. Five thousand prisoners, five standards, thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their caissons, fell into the hands of the French, and Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being taken with the military chest. Lannes seized one of the enemy's standards with his own hands. Bonaparte demanded for him the rank of General of Brigade. "He was," he said, "the first who put the enemy to the rout at Dego, who passed the Po at Plaisance, the Adda at Lodi, and the first that entered Bassano."

In the course of six days the French army fought two regular battles and entered into four engagements. Out of sixty thousand men with which Wurmser was to re-conquer Italy, only ten thousand remained after the battle of Bassano; these he sent to Verona, which they were prevented from entering by General Kilmaine. Augereau, on his way to Padua, seized the baggage of the Austrian army, and made four hundred prisoners. Wurmser had no resource but to throw himself into Mantua, which he reached about the middle of September. On his march he made three hundred French prisoners,

who were surrounded by the Austrian cuirassiers; a loss more than compensated by the taking of Porto Legnano, and a greater number of prisoners. Massena and Sahuguet having been checked in an attempt upon Due Castelli, and La Favorita, Wurmser made a sortie from Mantua with almost the whole of the garrison, to go upon a foraging party with the rest of the troops cantoned about the place, and in the faubourg of St. George. This brought on another affair, in which Wurmser lost two thousand five hundred men, two thousand prisoners, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was inconsiderable; but among the wounded were Generals Victor, Saint Hilaire, Bertin, Murat, Lannes, and General Mayer, who received a shot in the act of saving a French soldier from the sabre of an Austrian cuirassier.

Wearied of opposing sorties, Bonaparte confined himself to a strict blockade of Mantua; besides, the rainy weather would not admit of a regular siege for some months.

By the end of September there were not more than sixteen thousand men in Mantua able to bear arms. The public establishments were not capable of receiving the sick; but being distributed in the private houses, the whole city might be considered as one vast hospital. On the 23rd, the bridge of Guvernolo was attacked by the Imperialists; this bridge commanding the Mincio, had been fortified by Bonaparte. After a brisk cannonade, the Imperialists were routed by the Republican infantry, who took eleven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Perceiving that Wurmser avoided a general action, Bonaparte returned to Milan, leaving General Kilmaine to conduct the blockade. On the 1st of October, the French attacked the Austrians in their advanced posts of Cereze and Pradella. A detachment of their cavalry were surrounded and taken; another that had passed the river at Borgo Forte, not being able to regain Mantua, endeavoured to take refuge in Tuscany; but at Reggio they were attacked by the inhabitants and the national guard. Pressed on all sides, these fugitives took shelter in the territory of Parma, and shut themselves up in the castle of Monte Chiarugolo; but the inhabitants of Reggio investing this place, the Austrians capitulated. Two soldiers of the national guard were killed; but from this moment the war between the population of Italy and the Imperialists had commenced.

On the night of the 18th, the Austrians endeavoured to scale the intrenchments of St. George's, but being unsuccessful all their attempts terminated here. Discouraged by successive defeats, weakened by contagious disorder, and condemned to privations of every kind, the garrison now seemed only to await its deliverance by the enemy.

In the meantime, Alvinzi, in the hope of surrounding Bonaparte, followed a system directly opposite to that of Wurmser, by extending

his line of operations in a very different manner. On the 4th of November, having passed the Tagliamento and the Piave, he advanced towards Bassano; which caused Massena to fall back upon Vicenza. Vaubois began to act upon the offensive on the same day. General Gieuz, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, seized upon St. Michel, and burnt the bridges newly thrown over the Adige: but General Fiorella was not so fortunate at Segonzano; his loss was considerable. Vaubois succeeded in closing the gorges of the Brenta against Davidovich. The combinations of Bonaparte were not disarranged; he resolved to attack Alvinzi, and marched on the 6th of November with Augereau's division, and joined that of Massena at Vicenza. On the 8th he proceeded against the enemy, who had passed the Brenta. "We must," said he, "affright him like a thunderbolt, from his first purpose." The engagement was warm; victory declared for the French. The Austrians repassed the Brenta, leaving a great number of dead on the field of battle, with five hundred prisoners and a piece of cannon. General Lanusse, badly wounded, fell into their hands.

By several subsequent victories the progress of the Austrians had been stopped, but they had not retreated: it was necessary to vanquish them, but of this Bonaparte almost despaired. But with him, discouragement was not despair; triumph often awaited him when he seemed to be on the very brink of ruin. Alvinzi had approached Verona on the 15th of November, and flattered himself that he could carry the place by assault, although General Kilmaine had fifteen hundred men there. Bonaparte, descending the Adige to Ronco, passed upon this point with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and took his route to Villa Nuova, with the view of seizing the enemy's baggage and his parks of artillery, whom he meant to attack on the flanks and in the rear. To effect this, it was necessary to traverse Arcola, a village situated in the centre of a large morass, and covered by the Alpon, one of the most rapid torrents. The Austrians foreseeing this movement, had sent forward some Hungarian regiments, who had intrenched themselves in this position, already so strong by nature. They arrested the progress of the French advanced guard during the whole day. It was to no purpose that the generals placed themselves at the head of the columns: in vain Augereau advanced upon the bridge with a standard in his hand: the soldiers would not follow him.

Bonaparte, however, had no idea of passing the night at Arcola, to which place he thought the enemy's army was marching. He retired behind the Adige, having made dispositions to repass it at pleasure. This river the French repassed at day-break on the 16th, when their divisions soon fell in with the advanced guard of the Austrians, moving towards Ronco, whilst their cavalry was hastening to seize upon Albaredo, an important position. Massena attacked and

routed their left wing, commanded by General Provera, whom they combated before in Piedmont. General Robert attacked the centre at the point of the bayonet, and drove the troops into the marshes. Augereau repulsed the troops that came from Arcola, but could not succeed in forcing that passage. Bonaparte consumed the whole day in fruitless attempts to turn the left of the enemy, which was protected by the marshes and the torrent. At night both armies retired to the positions they had occupied before the battle.

On the 17th, at break of day, Bonaparte had thrown a bridge over a point near the confluence of the Alpon and the Adige, which the enemy had neglected to secure. The Austrians were driven to Arcola.

At about ten o'clock the action became general. The centre, commanded by General Robert, retreated before the fresh troops which had debouched over the terrible bridge, withdrawing from the



left wing the forty-second demi-brigade, led by General Gardanne. Bonaparte placed this corps in the woods, and at the moment when the enemy was pursuing the centre, and turning the right of the French army, this demi-brigade took them in flank, and made a horrible carnage. Favoured by the localities, and by their superior number, the enemy's left wing resisted; but twenty-five horsemen contributed to their defeat. A brave fellow, named Hercule, lieutenant of a corps of Guides, having rapidly turned the morass that covered the Austrians, rode up full gallop, and sounding a number of

trumpets, threw the Austrian ranks into disorder, when Augereau availed himself of the moment to charge them, whilst nine hundred men coming from Legnago attacked them in the rear, and completed their rout. Massena afterwards traversed Arcola, and pursued the Austrians till the darkness compelled him to desist. The Austrians lost thirteen thousand men in this battle, including five thousand prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The loss of the French was less considerable in number than in the importance of those that fell during these three days. The generals, who acted as soldiers, were continually fighting at the head of their columns. The great art of the General-in-chief on this occasion, having but thirteen thousand men to oppose forty thousand, was to maintain the combat in the midst of a morass, where the enemy could not deploy. Upon such a field of battle only the heads of the columns could engage. In a plain, the French army would doubtless have been surrounded.

On the third day of this battle, the 75th regiment having been broken, Bonaparte placed the 32nd in an ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows along the dyke of Arcola. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and drove into the marsh three thousand Croats, who all perished there. Massena, in the mean while, had experienced some vicissitudes on the left; but he marched at the head of his division with his hat suspended on his sword, by way of standard, and made a horrible carnage of the enemy.

Several anecdotes are related of the danger to which Bonaparte was personally exposed during the three days fighting at this place. Las Cases, mentioning the bridge at Arcola, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge when the flank fire caused their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitate and are induced to retire; but they will not abandon their General: they seize him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and drag him along with them in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire and the smoke. The General-in-chief is thrown into a marsh, where he sinks up to the middle; he is in the midst of the enemy; but the French perceive that their General is not amongst them. A cry is heard of "Soldiers! forward to rescue the General!" These brave men instantly turn, and rush upon the enemy; they drive them beyond the bridge, and Napoleon is saved.

The devotion of all ranks in the army to the General-in-chief was very conspicuous on this day. Lannes, although at the time suffering from a wound, hastened from Milan to the scene of action; and, seeing Napoleon exposed to imminent danger, received three wounds in covering the body of his commander, whom he never left through-

out the battle. The gallant captain Muiron, one of his aide-de-camps, seeing a bomb about to explode, placed himself between it and the General, saving the life of the latter by the sacrifice of his own.

Alvinzi, nevertheless, succeeded in rallying his forces after this defeat. Being reinforced by Provera, with ten thousand men, he again advanced through the passes of the Tyrol; but this new aggression was only an opportunity for the Republican army to acquire fresh triumph for itself and its leader. The battle of Rivoli, those of Saint-George's and La Favorita, in which victory constantly remained faithful to the Republican flag, reduced Provera to the necessity of surrendering with his troops, and almost in sight of Wurmser, who himself capitulated soon after in Mantua.



We read in the bulletins dictated by Bonaparte at his head-quarters at Roverbello, on the 17th and 18th of January, 1797, and containing the details of these new victories, the following:

“On the 24th the enemy rapidly constructed a bridge at Anghiari, and made the vanguard pass over about a league from Porto-Legnago; at the same time General Joubert informed me that a considerable

column was filing past Montagna, and threatening to turn his vanguard at Corona. Various circumstances made me acquainted with the actual project of the enemy, and I no longer doubted that he intended, with the greater part of his forces, attacking my line at Rivoli, and thus succeed in reaching Mantua. During the night, I made nearly the whole division of General Massena set out, and repaired myself to Rivoli, where I arrived two hours after midnight.

"I immediately ordered General Joubert again to take up the important position of San Marco; I furnished the plain of Rivoli with artillery, and disposed everything so as to be able, at daybreak, to act on the offensive, and march upon the enemy myself.

"At daybreak our right wing and the enemy's left met upon the heights of San Marco: the encounter was terrible and obstinate.

"We had been fighting for three hours, and the enemy had not



yet drawn out all his forces; one of the foe's columns, which was drawn out along the Adige, under the protection of a great number of field pieces, marched directly to take possession of the plain of Rivoli, and by this menace to turn the right and the centre. I ordered Leclerc, the general of cavalry, to be in readiness to charge if the enemy succeeded in taking possession of the plain, and sent

Lasalle, chief of a squadron of horse, with fifty dragoons, to take the enemy's infantry attacking our centre, in flank, and to charge vigorously. At the same time General Joubert had sent down several battalions from the heights of San Marco, which rushed to the plain. The enemy, who had already arrived, was briskly attacked on all sides, and leaving a great number dead, and a part of their artillery, re-entered the valley of the Adige. Almost at the same moment the column which had already been some time on its march, intending to turn us, and cut off all retreat, ranged itself in order of battle. I had kept the 75th in reserve, which not only held this column in awe, but attacked its left, which had advanced, and immediately routed it. The 18th demi-brigade arrived during these transactions, and in the mean time General Rey had taken up a position behind the column that was to have turned us. I immediately gave orders to cannonade the enemy with a few twelve-pounders; I ordered the attack, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole of this column, which consisted of more than four thousand men, were made prisoners.



"The enemy being everywhere defeated, we pursued them on all sides, and during the whole of the night prisoners were constantly

being brought in. Fifteen hundred men, who had escaped by Guarda, were stopped by fifty men of the 18th, who, the moment they recognized them, confidently marched upon, and ordered them to lay down their arms.

"The enemy were still masters of Corona, but could no longer be considered dangerous. It was necessary to march immediately against the division of General Provera, who had passed the Adige on the 24th at Anghiari. I ordered General Victor to file off with the brave 57th, and fall back on General Massena, who, with a part of his division, arrived at Roverbello on the 25th.

"I left orders with General Joubert on my departure, to attack the enemy at day-break, if he should be rash enough to remain at Corona.

"General Murat had marched all night with a demi-brigade of light infantry, and appeared in the morning on the heights of Montebaldo, which commanded Corona. After a bold resistance, the enemy was put to the rout, and those who escaped the day before were now taken prisoners. The cavalry could only escape by swimming across the Adige, and many were drowned in the attempt.



"In two days at Rivoli we have taken thirteen thousand prisoners and nine pieces of cannon."

The rest of the bulletin is devoted to the description of the battles of Saint George, Anghiari, and La Favorita. At the second battle

of Anghiari, a colonel of Austrian hussars presented himself before a squadron of the 9th regiment of dragoons, and, with a braggart air, called upon them to surrender. Duvivier, the French commandant, made his squadron halt, and replied: "If you have the courage, come and take me." The two detachments halted while their chiefs engaged in single combat, in the manner of the warriors of the age of chivalry. The colonel of hussars, having been wounded by two sabre-cuts, ordered his troops to charge; but they were as unsuccessful as their leader, and were all made prisoners.

Provera, after his disastrous defeat, pursued his route towards Mantua; and, notwithstanding that he lost two thousand men at Anghiari, he succeeded in reaching the suburb of St. George's, by which means he hoped to enter the city. He contrived to send a boat across the lake to concert measures with Wurmser for the relief of the besieged; but Napoleon, anxious to prevent a junction between the garrison and the relieving army, had marched with a portion of his force, and arrived before Mantua at the same time as Provera. During the night he posted General Victor, with four regiments he



had brought from Rivoli, so as to prevent the junction contemplated by the enemy; and, at daylight, Wurmser having made a sortie at La Favorita, was met by the blockading troops under Serrurier, while Victor attacked the division of Provera. The battle was obstinately

contested ; but at length Wurmser was driven back into the city, and Provera, after having suffered enormous loss, was surrounded, and compelled to lay down his arms. The 57th demi-brigade greatly distinguished itself, acquiring the name of "Terrible." It charged with the bayonet upon the Austrian line, throwing their ranks into the utmost confusion, and filling the avenues leading to the fortress with mingled masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, endeavouring to escape. Of all Provera's troops, only two thousand escaped from the battle of La Favorita.

Napoleon, writing to the Directory, and describing the results of the brilliant campaign, said :—"The Republican army has in four days gained two pitched battles and several actions ; taken nearly twenty-five thousand prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two generals, and from twelve to fifteen colonels. It has also captured twenty stand of colours, sixty pieces of cannon, and killed or wounded at least six thousand men."

The vigilance and activity of Napoleon during the siege of Mantua were remarkable. So great was his anxiety to guard against a surprise, that he was in the habit of passing the night in visiting the different outposts. On one occasion it is related that he surprised a tired sentinel asleep at the foot of a tree. Instead of waking him, the General took his musket, and mounted guard for nearly an hour. When the grenadier at length awoke, and recognised the well-known lineaments of his commander, as he paced backwards and forwards in the moonlight, he was stricken with terror, and exclaiming "I am undone!" threw himself on his knees and implored forgiveness. Napoleon, however, who knew that the poor man had fought hard, and had marched a long distance, spoke kindly, and gently reproved him for his inattention. Returning him his musket, he said, "This time I will excuse your yielding to the effects of fatigue ; but bear in mind that one moment's inattention may endanger the whole army. I was awake and have kept watch for you. You must be more upon your guard for the future."

So many reverses could not fail to prepare Wurmser for a capitulation, and it also convinced him that the siege of Mantua would finish like all the other enterprises of the Republican army. When summoned to surrender, he sent his chief aide-de-camp, General Klenau, to the head-quarters of General Serrurier, at Roverbello, who, however, refused to entertain any proposal without first referring to the General-in-chief.

Napoleon had a mind to be present incognito at the conference. He went to Roverbello, wrapped himself in his military cloak, and commenced writing, whilst Klenau and Serrurier were engaged in the discussion. He wrote his conditions on the margin of the paper containing Wurmser's proposals, and when he had finished, said to the Austrian general, who had probably taken him for a mere camp

secretary, "If Wurmser had only eighteen or twenty days' provisions, and talked of surrendering, he would not deserve any honourable capitulation. These are the conditions I will grant him," he added, returning the paper to Serrurier: "you will especially observe that his person will be free, for I honour his great age and his merit, and do not wish him to become the victim of his enemies at Vienna, who aim at his destruction. If he opens his gates to-morrow, he may have the conditions I have just written; if he delays a fortnight, a month, or two months, he shall have the same. He may, therefore, delay until he is reduced to the last morsel of bread. I shall at once set out to pass the Po, and march against Rome. You know my intentions, go and report them to your chief."



Surprised to find himself in the presence of Napoleon, and full of admiration and gratitude for what he had heard, Klenau acknowledged that Wurmser had not provisions for three days. The old marshal was not less affected than his aide-de-camp on learning what had passed at the conference at Roverbello, and evinced his gratitude to Napoleon, by apprising him of a conspiracy which was formed to poison him at Romagna. Serrurier, in the absence of the General-in-chief, presided at the surrender of Mantua, February 1st, 1797.

On the day preceding the surrender of Mantua, Bonaparte had published another proclamation, reproaching the Pope with subterfuge and perfidy; declaring the armistice at an end, and recalling the French ambassador from Rome. Accordingly General Victor entered the town of Imola next day, and beheld the Pontifical army intrenched

along the banks of the Sestra, defended by numerous redoubts and a train of artillery. But as the chief reliance of these troops was placed in the promises of the Pontiff, they were soon broken; they immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna; the whole of Ancona also acknowledged the tri-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto, while what remained of the votive offerings of popes, kings, and emperors, became the prey of the soldiery.

In the mean time the most alarming commotions prevailed at Rome. Prayers, processions, indulgencies, and even miracles were resorted to, to sanctify the cause of the Holy See, and to excite the people against the invaders. To allay this ferment, Napoleon issued a proclamation, couched in the following language:—"The French army which has entered the territory of the Pope, will protect the religion and people of the country. The French soldier bears in one hand a bayonet, the sure harbinger of victory; and with the other offers to the inhabitants of every town and village in his march, peace, protection, and security." The progress of the French was rapid. Opposition was soon abandoned. General Colli, who had formerly led the Sardinian army, and was now commander-in-chief of the Pontifical troops, was compelled to lay down his arms without firing a shot; and his Holiness was at length induced to send an envoy to Bonaparte to arrange the preliminaries of peace. A treaty was signed at Tolentino on the 20th of February, 1797. By this the Holy Father agreed to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure stipulated in a former convention, and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expenses of the war.

The Archduke Charles had been sent into Italy to assume the command of the Austrian troops, and endeavour to repair the disasters of his predecessors. But he was in no haste to open the campaign; weakened by its defeats, this army could not undertake any thing before the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The main body was intrenched behind the Tagliamento. The French occupied the opposite shores of the Piave and the Lavisio; the reinforcement promised by the Directory at length arrived, not of thirty thousand, but of eighteen thousand men. This was sufficient to determine Bonaparte to march to Vienna; the only pledge he had not yet made good.

With this view it was necessary to commence the campaign before the snows began to melt, and not to give the Austrian engineers time to fortify the debouches of the mountains; it was also important to beat the Archduke Charles before he had been joined by the divisions marching from the Rhine. Bonaparte began to advance on the 10th of March; in order to leave Italy he had a variety of obstacles to encounter not less difficult than those that opposed his entrance.

On the 13th the army passed the Piave, a deep and rapid river, and drove the Austrians to Sacile, where they came up with their rear guard, from who they made a hundred prisoners. At the approach



of Massena, the enemy retired upon Bellune, and then to Cadore, but still pursued by this General, who made seven hundred prisoners, and among them the Prince de Lusignan, whose exchange being opposed by Bonaparte, on account of the opprobrious conduct of this prisoner toward the French sick at Brescia, he was sent to Paris.

The French army now marched towards the Tagliamento. On the 16th of March all the divisions were collected at Valvasone. The Archduke's army was intrenched on the other side of the Tagliamento. In the passage of this river, Bonaparte himself was so nearly drowned by the submersion of his carriage that for some moments he gave up all thoughts of his life being saved.

General Guieux was ordered to approach the left of the intrenchments, whilst Bernadotte executed the same movement on the right. Each of these divisions being supported by a demi-brigade of light infantry, and flanked by the cavalry, put themselves under the protection of the artillery. General Duphot at the head of the light infantry, and sustained by the grenadiers, were soon formed on the other side. General Murat arrived at the same time on the right, supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division. The whole line was then in motion, each demi-brigade in echelons flanked and supported by the cavalry. In vain did the Austrian cavalry

charge the French infantry: the moment they came up they were obliged to retire. The Archduke then endeavoured to overwhelm the French right with his cavalry, and the left with his infantry. But the enemy's squadrons were routed, and their commandant made prisoner. The French did not desist from the pursuit. The Austrians occupied the village of Gradisca; notwithstanding the darkness, General Guieux attacked them, and forced them to quit it in such disorder, that Prince Charles himself, who remained to direct the retreat, narrowly escaped being taken: he was obliged to mount the first horse he could get. Bonaparte owed this prompt success to the ability of his movements, and the superiority of his artillery.

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz; and continued their victorious career, defeating the enemy, and every where planting their standard. The army of Prince Charles became a complete wreck: since the opening of the campaign twenty thousand had been made prisoners, and the Austrians fled to the mountains, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, where for a while they made a stand.

In the midst of this unexampled series of triumphs, it seems that, incapable of being dazzled by their glare and splendour, the more successful Bonaparte was, he became the more moderate. The army of Prince Charles was before him, abashed, discouraged, terrified; the soldiers of France were elated with victory, panted to be led forth again to battle, and were now on the very point of encamping under the walls of Vienna, where probable success might have overturned for ever the throne of that house of Austria so fatal to France: yet Bonaparte arrests his triumphant march, and from his head-quarters writes a letter to the Archduke Charles, proposing peace.

This correspondence, more frank it would seem on the part of Bonaparte than on that of Prince Charles, was answered by that prince assuring the French general, that he was not invested on the part of the Emperor with any powers for treating. Two hours after the receipt of this letter, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible, as it was obviously made to gain the whole day.

Bonaparte, during these transactions, transferred his head-quarters to Judenberg, and prepared for decisive measures: but on the 7th of April, the Count de Bellegard and Major-general Meerveldt, wrote a letter to the General-in-chief, stating that his Imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe. Bonaparte, in answer to this application, observed, that considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was in every point of view disadvantageous to the French. But if it tended to open the road to peace, so much desired, he would consent to their request. He was strengthened in this resolution in consequence of having received notice from the Directory that he

must not expect the co-operation of the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse. A convention was accordingly entered into, and a line marked out, which the French army were to retain. Serrurier's division occupied Gratz, a town containing forty thousand inhabitants. Not a single contribution was levied in Germany, and Bonaparte had the satisfaction to find that no complaints had been made against his troops. Preliminaries having been signed, the Executive Directory communicated their tenour to both the councils. They contained the cession of Belgium, the acknowledgment of the limits of France, as decreed by the laws of the Legislative Body, and the establishment and independence of a republic in Lombardy. The preliminary treaty, signed at the castle of Eckenwald in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797, has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and served as the foundation of a subsequent definitive treaty.

No sooner were these preliminaries of peace signed, than Bonaparte directed his march towards Venice, which, under the mask of neutrality, had long favoured the views of Austria, and acted with considerable duplicity.

The Republic had madly run to meet the danger which threatened it. United and in conjunction with an Italian priesthood, they



raised the ignorant populace on the shores of the Adriatic, and caused a number of French to be assassinated in Verona, during the Easter festival. The ministers of religion, forgetting their mission of peace

and charity, madly preached to the people, that it was permitted, and even meritorious, to slay the Jacobins.

Bonaparte hastened immediately to put an end to the revolt and assassination in Verona, and to hurl his vengeance on the Venetians. On hearing of the insurrection, he said to his old comrade Bourrienne, whom he had made his private secretary, and who had narrowly escaped perishing under their poniards on his way to rejoin him, "Be tranquil, those villains shall pay dearly for it. Their Republic has been!" A few days after, he wrote to the Directory, that "the only course to be taken was to destroy this ferocious and sanguinary government, and erase the Venetian name from the face of the earth."

In vain did those officers who had been appointed to supply the army with provisions at Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, insinuate that the French had provoked the excesses of which they had been the victims. Bonaparte solemnly denied this in a manifesto which



was the death summons to the Venetian aristocracy. It concluded with the following resolutions: "The General-in-chief requires the French minister in the republic of Venice to leave the said town; orders that the different agents of the republic of Venice, in Lombardy and the Venetian states, quit the same in twenty-four hours.

‘He orders that the different generals regard the troops of the Venetian republic as foes, and cast down the winged lion of St. Mark in every town where it is found displayed.’

These orders were punctually executed. Terror took possession of the Great Council of Venice. They resigned their power, and yielded the sovereignty to the people, who entrusted the exercise of its authority to a municipality. On the 16th of May, the tri-coloured flag was hoisted in St. Mark’s Place, by General Baraguay d’Hilliers. The most democratic revolution took place throughout the whole of the Venetian states. Dandolo, a lawyer of Venice, one of the only two men possessed of merit whom Napoleon declared he had been able to meet with in Italy, was placed at the head of their provisional government. The lion of St. Mark and the Corinthian horses, which have served to ornament the triumphal arch of the Carrousel, were sent to Paris.

Whilst the negotiations were in progress with Austria, Napoleon learned that Hoche and Moreau had crossed the Rhine. Only a few days before, the Directory had announced to him that the passage would not be attempted. He was on an isle formed by the rising of



the Tagliamento when a courier brought him this important news. “Nothing,” says M. de Bourrienne, “could paint the emotion of

the General on reading these despatches. The confusion of his ideas was such, that he for a moment determined to recross to the left bank of the Tagliamento and break the truce on any pretext. 'How different,' he said, 'would have been the preliminaries, if indeed they had ever existed!' " There is reason to believe that Napoleon would not have evinced the pacific disposition which he manifested in his letter to Prince Charles, if he could have reckoned on the co-operation of the armies of Germany. The conquest of Vienna would have incited him as much as that of Rome had been unable to tempt him. The jealousy and suspicious duplicity of the Directory did not permit him this time to satisfy his ambition.

Negotiations were carried on slowly, and the General-in-chief profited by the leisure the armistice allowed him, to visit Lombardy and the states of Venice, and to organize a government there. For the purpose he needed men, and he sought for them in vain. "Good God," he exclaimed, "how scarce are men! There are in Italy eighteen millions, and with difficulty do I find two—Dandolo and Melzi."

At length, fatigued by the shackles that the leaders of the Republic had imposed on the execution of his plans, and disgusted by the delay of the Austrian diplomatists, Bonaparte spoke of resigning the command of the army of Italy, and of seeking in retirement and solitude that repose of which he pretended he was in need; but this was, doubtless, merely a threat which he had no wish to realize. He did not believe they could do without him, after the service he had rendered, the talent he had evinced, and the immense popularity he had acquired. The Directory was assisted in its jealousy and fear by the conspiracies set on foot by the Royalists. It was natural that the party opposed to the Revolution should dread the influence of the General who had saved the Republic by fifty victories, and whose renown, glory, and existence, were blended with the safety and progress of the Revolution. The government encouraged the circulation of pamphlets and journals traducing General Bonaparte and the army under his command, and political caricatures were permitted. Among other things, he was charged with having excited the tumults which led to the occupation of Venice. This last accusation was brought forward in a tangible shape. Dumolard, one of the leading Royalists, during the discussion in the Council of Ancients concerning the violation of the rights of the nations, brought forward a motion for inquiring into the origin of the Venetian rising, and the violence which attended its suppression. Napoleon, being informed of all these attacks and malicious insinuations, thus wrote to the Directory; "I had a right to expect," said he, "after having concluded five treaties of peace, and given a decisive blow to the coalition, if not civic triumphs, at least to live in peace and tranquillity, and under the protection of the chief magistrates of the Republic. On the contrary, I find myself basely insulted, injured, and traduced,

by every shameful means which political cunning lends to persecution.

"We have been assassinated by traitors; more than four hundred men have perished, and the chief magistrates of the Republic would make it a crime to have believed it for a moment!



"I know very well there are societies where it has been asked, Was this blood then so pure?"

"Had infamous men, or those dead to all sentiments of patriotism and national glory, spoken thus, I should have paid no attention to it; but when such language is permitted, without rebuke, by the first ministers of state, my silence would be criminal.

"I repeat, Citizen Directors, the request I have made for my dismissal. I wish to live in peace, if the daggers of Clichy will per-

mit me. You have charged me with some negotiations ; I am unfitted for them."

A short time previous he had written to Carnot: " I received your letter, my dear Director, on the field of battle at Rivoli ; I saw with contempt all that was laid to my account. Every one makes me speak according to his fancy. I believe you know me too well to imagine that I could be influenced by any one. I have always had to thank you for the marks of friendship you have shown me and mine ; and I shall always be grateful for it. There are men who cannot exist without hatred, and who, being unable to shake the Republic, console themselves by sowing discord and dissension wherever they find the opportunity. As for myself, whatever they may say will be immaterial ; the esteem of a few persons like yourself, and that of my comrades and soldiers—perhaps also the opinion of posterity ; and above all, a clear conscience and the prosperity of my country, will alone interest me."

Napoleon himself replied to the calumnies of the Clichy faction on the subject of Venice, and caused to be distributed among the army, for this purpose, an anonymous circular, which refuted all the lying assertions of the Royalists.

There was but little sincerity, as we have already remarked, in his offer to resign. With regard to that modesty which led him to declare himself unfit for diplomatic labours, we can judge the weight of this declaration by the following, which relates to the negociation of Campo-Formio, and which he himself related at Saint Helena.

" M. de Cobentzel," said he, " was the man of the Austrian monarchy, the soul of its projects, and the director of its diplomacy. He had been employed in the chief embassies of Europe, and was for a long time at the court of Catharine, whose particular favour he had gained. Proud of his rank and importance, he imagined the dignity of his manners and courtly address would easily silence a general from the Revolutionary camp. Accordingly he accosted the French General with considerable levity ; but the attitude and first words of the latter were sufficient to place him immediately in his station, from which, in future, he never attempted to emerge."—" The conferences," adds M. de Las-Cases, " were at first very tedious. M. de Cobentzel, according to the custom of the Austrian cabinet, showed himself very skilful in carrying matters to a great length. The French General, however, resolved to come to the point at once. The conference, which he had determined should be the last, was conducted with great vehemence. Napoleon demanded a decisive answer to his proposals ; the Count declared them to be rejected. Rising in a passion he energetically exclaimed, " You wish for war ? well then, you shall have it ! " and seizing a magnificent porcelain vase, which M. de Cobentzel daily boasted had been given him by the great Catharine, he dashed it with all his strength on the floor

hivering it into a thousand pieces. "Look," said he, "such shall be the fate of your Austrian monarchy in less than three months, I promise you!" He immediately hastened from the apartment, leaving M. de Cobentzel petrified; but M. de Gallo, who was much more conciliating, accompanied the French General to his carriage,



endeavouring to detain him; "bowing most profoundly," continues the Emperor, "and in so piteous an attitude that, notwithstanding my apparent anger, I could not help laughing heartily to myself."

This mode of negotiating, which seemed to justify what Napoleon had said as to his inaptitude for diplomacy, did not fail, however, to produce the effect he desired. On this occasion rudeness might pass for skill and address. It was necessary to put an end to the slow calculations and hesitations of the Austrian cabinet. Napoleon contributed to hasten this by breaking Catharine's present. His violence on this occasion served the interests of France better than the polished cunning of a veteran courtier could have done. He knew how to put himself in a passion at proper times, and it may be said that if he was wanting in etiquette and politeness, it was in order to obtain his own ends.

But whilst Napoleon vexed himself in Italy at the interminable lengths of the diplomatic conferences, and of the inactivity which the ill-will of the Directory had imposed upon him, and the insults addressed to him by the factions of the interior, from all parts of

Europe, by the intermediation of emigrants and paid correspondents, the existence of the Directory was threatened by a Royalist majority in the two Councils.

The Army of Italy, which had conquered in so many battles under Republican colours, and the illustrious chief who had led them so rapidly from victory to victory, necessarily fixed the attention of both parties, and raised the fears of the one, and the hopes of the other. Napoleon, of late openly or secretly calumniated by the Clichy club and the Directory, beheld himself all at once sought for, and flattered on all sides. Francis Ducoudray, one of the most influential orators of the monarchical majority, did not hesitate to give the title of "hero," to the mitrailleur of the 13th Vendémaire, remarking "that he had distinguished himself by his talents as a negociator, after having in eight months equalled the most illustrious men in the art of war."

But these interested praises of a skilful man could not cover the hatred that his party nourished and breathed, in their publications and meetings, against the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. Aubry, the old enemy of Bonaparte, was one of the leaders of the Clichy faction. Supported by some furious orators, he demanded loudly the deposition and arrest of Napoleon. This was sufficient for the latter not to hesitate between the Directory and the Councils. But he despised the Directory, in which body there was but one man whose character he esteemed, and whose services and capacity he acknowledged; and this man, Carnot, had separated himself from the Directorial majority from constitutional scruples, which made him object to repulsing the encroachments of royalty by violent measures. What determined him especially to give his powerful support to the Directors, in opposition to the majority of the Councils, was the discovery of the treason of Pichegru, who was at the head of this majority, and whose criminal understanding with a stranger was detected by the seizure of the papers of the famous Count D'Antraigues, an intriguing Royalist, who was surprised and arrested in the states of Venice, and left at liberty on his parole at Milan, which he shamefully broke and escaped into Switzerland, where he published an infamous libel against Napoleon.

In the present conjuncture, therefore, he decided upon preserving the existence of the Directory; and every precaution was taken to prepare the troops for important events. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, a new oath was proposed to the soldiers, by which they bound themselves to defend the Constitution of the year Three, and to maintain implacable war against the enemies of the Republic. Proclamations and addresses were circulated among the ranks, and the soldiers, who were ardent Republicans, were eager to march to Paris. Augereau was deputed to bear the various addresses to the capital, where their publication produced the utmost alarm in the Councils. They remonstrated

against the interference of the military, but in vain. Hoche, who was a determined foe of the Royalists, had already sent a body of troops across the frontier, and these, on the night of the 3rd of September, were led into Paris by Augereau. They surrounded the Hotel-de-Ville and the Tuileries, and were dispersed among the quays, the bridges, and the Champs-Élysées. An alarm gun was fired at four o'clock on the following morning, and the General presented himself at the gate of the Pont Tournant. He found the guard of the legislative body under arms; but on his calling out to them, "Are you Republicans?" they replied, lowering their arms, "Long live Augereau!—Long live the Directory!" Pichegru, president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Willot, president of the Council of Ancients, with about a hundred and fifty others, were arrested. By six o'clock the Directory were triumphant, and the enterprise concluded. Barthelemy, Pichegru, and the other Royalist leaders, were banished; and the Directors were candid enough to proclaim that



the Republic owed its existence to the promptitude of General Bonaparte. As a justification of their proceedings they published the intercepted correspondence of Pichegru.

The intimacy between Bonaparte and Desaix commenced about

this period. Desaix had been serving with the Army of the Rhine, and had observed with admiration the triumphs of the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy. He profited by the leisure which the armistice of Leoben allowed him, to visit the great captain. These two men understood and were pleased with each other at first sight. In one of their conversations, Napoleon wished to confide to his new friend the secret of Pichegru's treason: "We knew this on the Rhine three months ago," said Desaix. "A waggon taken from General Klinglin gave us possession of all Pichegru's correspondence with the enemies of the Republic."—"But did not Moreau make this known to the Directory?"—"No!"—"Then he is guilty; when the safety of the country is concerned, silence renders him an accomplice." After the events of the 18th Fructidor, Moreau wrote to the Directory, communicating what he knew of the conspiracy; and denouncing Pichegru in the harshest language. "By not speaking sooner," said Napoleon, "he has betrayed the country; by speaking thus late, he has overwhelmed one already fallen." Bonaparte learnt, with extreme joy, the defeat and proscription of the Clichyans, which Augereau announced to him in these terms: "At length, general, my mission is accomplished, and the promises of the Army of Italy have this night been fulfilled."

But the Directory, once quit of the Royalists, returned to their secret and obstinate jealousy of Napoleon. Although well acquainted with the opinion of the General on the 18th Fructidor, after all the despatches they had received, the report was spread in Paris, in order that it might reach the ears of the army, that the opinion of Bonaparte concerning the day was doubtful; and to give more weight to this suspicion, Augereau was commissioned to address the circular to all the generals of the division, which the General-in-chief alone ought to have sent. Informed of all these manœuvres, Napoleon expressed his dissatisfaction and indignation.

"It is certain," he wrote to the Directory, "that the government acts towards me much in the same manner as it did towards Pichegru after the Vendémiaire in the year iv.

"I beg of you to appoint some one in my place, and to grant my dismissal. No power on earth shall make me continue my services after the shameful ingratitude of the government, and which was so far from what I expected. My health, which is considerably affected, imperatively demands tranquillity and repose.

"My mind also requires remoulding into that of a plain citizen. For a long time, a great power has been confided to me. On all occasions I have made use of it for the good of the country; so much the worse for those who have no faith in virtue, and who may have suspected mine. My reward is in my conscience, and the opinion of posterity.

"Rely upon it, if there had been a moment of peril, I should have

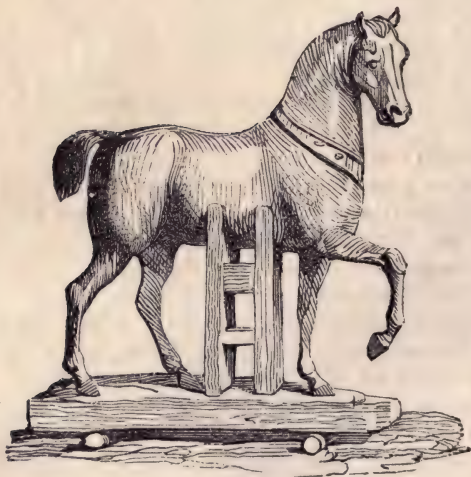
appeared in the foremost rank, in defence of liberty, and of the constitution of the year III."

The Directory did not feel themselves competent to struggle with the illustrious warrior, and therefore continued to dissimulate. They hastened to forward explanations and excuses in order to calm his resentment. Bonaparte was not so much disgusted with his chief command as he wished it to appear; he feigned to accept the flattering explanations which were given him, and commenced corresponding privately with some of the members of the Directory, on the events of the war, conditions of peace, and on the gravest questions of general politics. "The fate of Europe," he wrote to François de Neufchâteau, "lies in union, wisdom, and the power of governing; a word from the executive Directory shakes even thrones; so that stipendiary scribblers, and ambitious fanatics, under various disguises, cannot replunge us into the torrent of Revolution." About this time, a famous man from the constitutional assembly, and whose renown has since extended itself by an active participation in the establishment and the fall of all the governments which have incited France from reaction to reaction, even unto its present situation, made his first appearance on the political stage. It was at this epoch that Talleyrand, ever ready to pay his court to the rising sun, sought to enter into a confidential relationship with Bonaparte. He wrote several letters to him upon the 18th Fructidor, and in all, expressed himself with the vehemence of an ardent revolutionist.

About this time Napoleon published an address to the sailors of the fleet under Admiral Brueys, which seemed to foreshadow the expedition to Egypt. "Sailors," it said, "without you we should be unable to make known the French name beyond a small corner of Europe. With you, we will traverse the seas, and bear the standard of the Republic into the most remote countries."

In order to realize his vast projects, it was necessary first to conclude peace in Europe. Austria, which had hoped for some advantages from the intrigues of the Royalists, founded upon internal revolution in France, had no longer any reason for delaying the progress of negotiations; but the Directory, proud of their victory of the 18th Fructidor, exhibited warlike dispositions. "We must no longer spare Austria," they wrote to Bonaparte, "its perfidy, its intelligence with the conspirators of the interior, are manifest." But these hostile orders did not accord with the views of the General-in-chief. The approach of winter determined him to hasten the conclusion of peace. "It will be more than a month," said he to his secretary, "before the armies of the Rhine can second me, if they are so inclined, and in a fortnight all the roads and passes will be blocked up with snow. It is decided; I will make peace; Venice shall pay the costs of war, and guarantee the boundary of the Rhine. The Directory and the lawyers may say what they please."

The peace was signed at Campo Formio on the 17th of October, 1797. It guaranteed to France the boundary of the Rhine, and gave her possession of Belgium. Venice was to be parted between the contracting powers, notwithstanding the previous declaration of a free constitution, and the appointment of a provisional government: France was to have Dalmatia and the Ionian islands, while Austria was to assume the sovereignty of Venice and her Italian provinces, as a compensation for the loss of Lombardy, the independence of which was recognised in that of the Cisalpine Republic. MM. La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Pusey, who had been confined for four years in the miserable dungeons of Olmutz, were to be liberated: this article was obstinately insisted upon by the French plenipotentiaries. The treaty strikingly exhibited the little regard entertained by either of the parties concerned in it for the rights of nations, and forms a strange contrast to the noble declaration of Napoleon, "that it is contrary to the rights of man for one nation to be subject to another." Unfortunately, history is full of instances of similar hypocrisy.





CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY TO RASTADT.—RETURN TO PARIS —EMBARKATION FOR EGYPT. 1797—1798.



LEAVING the Austrian frontier, where neither war nor negotiations required his stay, Napoleon set out to visit his conquests, and pass through Lombardy, which received him as its liberator. The popular acclamation followed him everywhere; and when an order from Paris compelled him to proceed to Rastadt, to preside thereover the French legation, he met with the same admiration and the same enthusiasm throughout Switzerland, which he traversed from Geneva to Basle. Before leaving Milan, he sent to the Directory, by Joubert, a magnificent flag, which displayed on one side the enumeration of all the wonders the Army of Italy had achieved; on the other, these words: "To the Army of Italy from its grateful country." When on his last journey to Mantua, he caused a funeral service to be celebrated in honour of Hoche, who was just dead; and hastened the completion of the monument raised to the memory of Virgil.

Among those who met him on the road at this time, was an observer full of wit and penetration, and whose remarks were inserted in the Parisian Journals in December, 1797. We read thus: "I beheld with deep interest and extreme attention this extraordinary man, who has performed so many great actions, and whose career is plainly not yet finished. I found him very like his portraits, small,

thin, and pale, having the appearance of one fatigued, but not ill as reported. He seemed to me to listen with more of abstraction than interest; and as if he were rather occupied with his own thoughts than with what was said to him. There is a great deal of expression in his countenance; one observes an air of habitual meditation, which reveals nothing of what is passing within. In this thoughtful head, this powerful mind, it is impossible not to suppose that there are bold conceptions, which will influence the destinies of Europe."



Crossing the Plain of Morat, where the Swiss destroyed the army of Charles the Bold, in 1456, Lannes observed that the French knew how to fight better now-a-days than formerly. "At that time," sharply interrupted Bonaparte, "the Burgundians were not Frenchmen."

Arrived at Rastadt, Napoleon soon found that his new office was not suitable to him. It was at Paris, in the centre of the political movements, or at the head of his army, that this wonderful man could henceforth alone find a place worthy of him. But he had no occasion to demand his recal to the capital; a letter from the Direc-

tory summoned him thither. M. de Bourrienne, his secretary, who was not yet aware that his name had been erased from the list of emigrants, feared to accompany him, and wished to remain in Germany. "Come," said Bonaparte, "pass the Rhine without apprehension; they shall not tear you from my side; I will be answerable for you."

The reception of Napoleon at Paris was such as he might have expected from the universal favour which his high deeds had won for him. He retired to a very humble house which he had in the Rue Chauteraïne, and affected the utmost simplicity in his dress, habits, and language. The Directory, dissembling their fears and jealousy, was compelled to give a brilliant festival to the conqueror of Italy at the Luxembourg, which was attended by a vast concourse of people. It was Talleyrand who presented the hero to the Directors, and who spoke on the occasion a discourse, breathing the most pure and ardent republicanism. "You may remark," said he, "and perhaps with some surprise, all my efforts at the moment to explain, almost to attenuate, the glory of Bonaparte; he will not be offended at it. Shall I say it? for a moment I dreaded that shadowy disquietude which, in an infant Republic, becomes alarmed at anything which appears to aim a blow any where at equality; but I was deceived. Personal greatness, far from striking a blow at equality, is its greatest triumph; and on this very day, every French republican ought to feel himself greater."

Napoleon replied, and giving for the first time to the French Nation the title of GREAT, expressed himself in the following terms:

"Citizen Directors,

"The French people, in order to become free, had kings to contend with.

"To obtain a constitution founded on reason, it had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to overcome.

"The constitution of the year III, and yourselves, have triumphed over all these obstacles.

"Religion, the feudal system, and royalty, have successively governed Europe for twenty centuries; but, from the peace you have just concluded, the era of Representative Governments will be dated.

"You have accomplished the organisation of the GREAT NATION, whose territory is circumscribed only because Nature herself has fixed its limits.

"You have done more. The two most beautiful regions of Europe, once so celebrated for science, for art, and for the great men of whom they were the cradle, behold with the loftiest aspirations the Genius of Freedom arise from the tombs of their ancestors.

"I have the honour to present to you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by his majesty the Emperor.

"When the happiness of the French people shall be secured by the best practical laws, the whole of Europe will become free."

The moment Bonaparte concluded, the acclamations of the assembled thousands rent the air. The Directors embraced him, and Barras replied in a long and diffuse speech. Chenier's hymn was then sung in chorus, accompanied by a magnificent orchestra. After a few more speeches, and a display of flags, the ceremonies closed. The whole affair, according to Bourrienne, "was heartless and heavy—a mere scene of sentimental comedy."

At one of the numerous splendid entertainments to which he was invited at this time he encountered the celebrated Madame de Staël, who was eager to make the acquaintance of the conqueror of Italy. But Napoleon, who greatly disliked political women, was cold and reserved in his behaviour to her. At length, wearied by this indifference, she asked him, rather inconsiderately, "Who do you consider, General, the greatest woman, living or dead?" "She," he replied, drily, "who has borne the greatest number of children." The lady, quite disconcerted by this answer, remarked, that he was reported to be no admirer of the fair sex. "I am very fond of my wife, madam," was the abrupt reply. From this moment, there was bitter enmity between Napoleon and the author of "*Corinne*."

The Parisians showed themselves forgetful; the conqueror of Arcola had effaced all recollection of the mitrailleur of the Vendémiaire. The name of the street in which he lived was changed to Rue de la Victoire. Wherever he appeared, he was the object of the most lively acclamations. At the theatre, pit and boxes called loudly for him as soon as it became known that he was present. These demonstrations, so flattering to his vanity, appeared, however, to annoy him; he said once, "Had I known that the boxes were so exposed, I should not have come." Wishing to see a comic opera which was then attracting great crowds, and in which Madame Saint-Aubin and Elleviou performed, he requested its representation in this modest form: "If it were possible;" and the manager adroitly rejoined "that there was nothing impossible for the conqueror of Italy, who had long since rendered this word unnecessary in the dictionary."

In spite of the universal admiration of which he was the object, Napoleon, without suffering himself to be intoxicated by the incense lavished upon him, weighed his situation coolly, fearing that too much inaction would efface the recollection of his past services, and weary the ardour of his admirers. "In Paris," said he, "everything is soon forgotten. If I remain here long in idleness, I shall be lost. In this great Babylon, one reputation supplants another; when I shall have been three times to the theatre, nobody will take the trouble to look at me; therefore I shall go but seldom in future." He repeated the words of Cromwell, when it was remarked to him how great was

the enthusiasm his presence excited: "Bah! the people would come with as much eagerness to meet me, if I were going to the scaffold."



The triumphal reception given by the Directory to the General was followed by brilliant fêtes from the Directors individually, from the members of the councils, and from the ministers. Each endeavoured to surpass the others in magnificence. But Napoleon, in the midst of all this display, appeared simple and affable, and seemed to prefer finding out in the crowd some useful and distinguished man, and to keep apart and converse with him upon the art or science in which he had gained celebrity.

There were at this time several plots against him. A woman warned

him of the existence of a conspiracy to poison him. The individual who carried the message was arrested, and led, accompanied by a magistrate, to the house of the woman who had furnished the information. She was found weltering in her blood. The assassins, learning that she had heard and denounced their infamous projects, had rid themselves of her testimony by the commission of a fresh crime.



On the 28th of December, he was elected a member of the class of arts and science in the National Institute : a distinction which seemed to afford him more gratification than all the honours that had been previously conferred upon him. He was received in the place of Carnot, and became a member of the class of Arts and Sciences. The letter he addressed to the President Camus, is too remarkable for us to omit.

“ Citizen President,

“ The suffrages of the distinguished men who compose the Institute honour me.

“ I feel that, before I can become their equal, I must remain for a long time their pupil.

“ If there were any mode more expressive of making known to them my sentiments of regard, I would use it.

“ True conquests, the only ones which leave no regret, are those we obtain over ignorance.

"The most honourable, as well as the most useful pursuits of nations, are those which contribute to the expansion of the human mind.

"The real power of the French Republic should henceforth consist, in not permitting the existence of a single new idea, without its being added to the national intelligence.

"BONAPARTE."

On the day of his reception, he took his seat between Lagrange and the great La Place, and, on all public occasions, wore the dress of a member of the Institute, seeming to prefer the honour of being classed among literary and scientific men, to the rank he had acquired by his military eminence. There was no doubt considerable affectation in this. "I knew," he afterwards said, "that there was not a drummer in the army but would hold me in higher esteem, for believing me to be something more than a mere soldier."

Napoleon soon became weary of the adulation lavished upon him, and began to long for action. The influence Pichegru had acquired in the Council of Five Hundred, and that of Barras in the Directory, awakened his ambition, as he considered himself competent to a great political part. But he was too young to fill the office of Director, being scarcely thirty years of age, and the law required a candidate to be forty. An attempt was made to obtain a dispensation with respect to him upon this point, but it met with most decided opposition from the sitting members, and was consequently never proposed in public. The Directory rather wished to employ him abroad, as they feared his influence at home. France had still a powerful foe in England to contend against, and they thought of organizing an expedition for attacking the English on their own soil, and of giving the command to the conqueror of Italy. Such an enterprise was at that time looked upon as very practicable. It was not thought possible that England, with her inconsiderable land forces, could contend with the vast military power of France, provided the mastery of the channel was obtained; and it was hoped that, if the French fleet could effect a junction with those of Spain and Holland, they would be sufficiently strong to cover the passage of a flotilla. But Napoleon appears to have been averse to the project, although he pretended to second the movement. Throwing sixty thousand men into England, marching to London and entering it, no doubt did not present insurmountable difficulties to his mind; but he felt that it would be impossible permanently to occupy the country, and that an invasion could only partake of the nature of a barbarous incursion. He nevertheless proceeded by Etaples, Ambleteuse, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Ostend, and Walcheren, to examine the chances of success.

While thus apparently carrying out the views of the Directory,

another project occupied his mind, not less daring than the invasion of England: this was the conquest of Egypt. Through this land he hoped to reach the British possessions in India, and to found a new empire, which should extend from the mouth of the Nile to the Ganges. The carriage in which he travelled was stored with books relating to Egypt; and while personally he was on the sands and under the clouds of ancient Batavia, his imagination was wandering over the bright shores of the East. On his return from this journey he announced to the Directory his opinion that the scheme was impracticable. "It is too desperate a hazard," he said: "the fate of our beautiful France must not be staked upon such a cast." Perhaps the attitude assumed by England in face of the perils which menaced her had something to do with this decision. The threat of invasion had roused the national spirit to the highest degree of enthusiasm. Differences of party and creed were instantly forgotten, and peer and peasant united in a stern resolve to defend their native land from outrage and insult. The victorious British fleets swept every hostile flag from the ocean, and kept a strict watch on all the French ports.

The Directory, not without manifesting considerable reluctance, consented to abandon their projects against England for the present, and agreed to promote the views of Bonaparte. The expedition to Egypt was therefore resolved upon; and the utmost activity was displayed in the preparations, which were conducted with much secrecy. Every facility was afforded Napoleon, on whom the sole management devolved. Men, money, ships of war, transports—nothing was withheld; and he threw into the work all that energy for which he was remarkable. The scattered squadrons of the fleet were ordered to unite at Toulon, and that division of the army which had been destined to invade England, consisting of picked veterans of the Army of Italy, was marched to the shores of the Mediterranean. It was commanded by those Generals who had gained so much renown by their bravery and conduct in the late victorious campaigns: among them were Lannes, Murat, Kleber, Desaix, Berthier, Caffarelli, Menou, Regnier, Andreossi, Vaubois, and Baraguay D'Hilliers. The naval force was under the command of Admiral Brueys; and Villeneuve, Blanquet-Duchaila, and Decrès were the vice-admirals. The expedition was to be accompanied by about a hundred Savans,—men eminent in art, science, and literature, by whose labours the resources and capabilities of the land of the Pharaohs were to be developed: Monge, Berthollet, Fourier, Desgenettes, Larrey, and Dubois were among them.

On the eve of quitting Paris, a dispute between Bernadotte and the Austrian cabinet, on the subject of the tri-coloured flag which the French ambassador had planted on his hotel, and which had been insulted by the populace of Vienna, was near detaining Bonaparte

in Europe. The Directory wished to avenge this outrage at the price of another war, which the conqueror of Italy would have had to conduct. But the latter, whose plans would have been deranged by this, remarked, "That is was for politics to govern incidents, and not for incidents to govern politics." The Directory were obliged to yield to an observation so just, and Napoleon took the road towards Toulon.

Having arrived on the 8th of May, 1799, in this town, which was the cradle of his renown and glory, Bonaparte learnt that the emigration laws which the 18th Fructidor had again put in full force, still spread grief and mourning throughout the place. Having no power to issue any orders on the subject, in a province which was not under his command, he wrote, as a member of the National Institute, to the military commissioners of the South, to entreat them to be guided by clemency and humanity in their decisions. "I have learnt with grief," said he to them, "that old men of from seventy to eighty years of age, and miserable females, some with infant families, others pregnant, have been shot, in accordance with the barbarous law respecting emigrants.

"Should the soldiers of liberty turn butchers? Is the compassion they have evinced on the battle-field dead in their hearts?

"The law of the 19th Fructidor was a measure of public safety. It was intended for conspirators, and not for miserable women and old men.

"I exhort you then, citizens, when the law presents at your tribunal men past sixty years of age, or females, to declare that, in the midst of war, you have respected the aged and the women of your enemies.

"The soldier who signs a sentence against a person incapable of bearing arms is a coward."

"This letter," says De Bourrienne, "saved one unfortunate being actually under sentence, and gave great satisfaction to all the inhabitants and the army." Perhaps no other man in France would have had sufficient influence to modify a law which, though cruel and iniquitous, was then in active operation.

Soon after his arrival at Toulon, Napoleon reviewed the troops, and addressed them in the following animated harangue:—

"Officers and Soldiers,

"It is two years since I first took upon myself to command you; at that time you were on the coast of Genoa, in the greatest misery, wanting everything, having sacrificed all, even your watches, for your reciprocal subsistence; I promised to put an end to your miseries; I conducted you into Italy: there you had all you could desire. Did I not keep my word with you?"—"Yes!" shouted the soldiers universally.

Napoleon resumed.

“Well, then, learn that you have not done enough for the country, and the country has not yet done sufficient for you.

“I am now going to lead you to a land, where, by your future exploits, you will surpass those which now astonish your admirers, and render such services to the country as it has a right to expect from an invincible army.



“I promise each soldier that, on his return from this expedition, he shall have enough to purchase seven acres of land.

“You are going to encounter fresh dangers; you will share them with your brothers, the sailors. At present, the latter have not rendered themselves formidable to our enemies. Their exploits have not equalled yours—they have not had the opportunities; but the courage of the sailors is equal to yours; they long for victory, and they shall attain it with you.

“Inspire them with that invincible hope which everywhere rendered you victorious. Second their efforts; live on board with that good

will which characterizes men purely animated and devoted to the success of the same cause. Like you they have acquired a right to the national gratitude.

"Accustom yourselves to the manœuvres of sea-fights; become the terror of your enemies by land and by sea: imitate in that the soldiers of Rome, who knew how to beat Carthage in the plains, and the Carthaginians on the waves."

The army replied with shouts of "Long live the Republic."

The departure of the expedition was delayed some time by the vigilance of the English. A squadron, under the command of Nelson, was cruising within sight of the port; and Napoleon knew that to embark in his presence would be to brave almost certain destruction. He therefore thought it advisable to await a favourable opportunity, and this at length occurred. On the 18th of May, the English were driven off the coast by a violent gale, during which their vessels were so much damaged that the English admiral was compelled to put in to St. Peter's islands to refit. The order for embarkation was therefore instantly given, and in a few hours the fleet was under weigh. Napoleon had brought Josephine with him to Toulon, in order that he might enjoy her society as long as possible, and he now took a

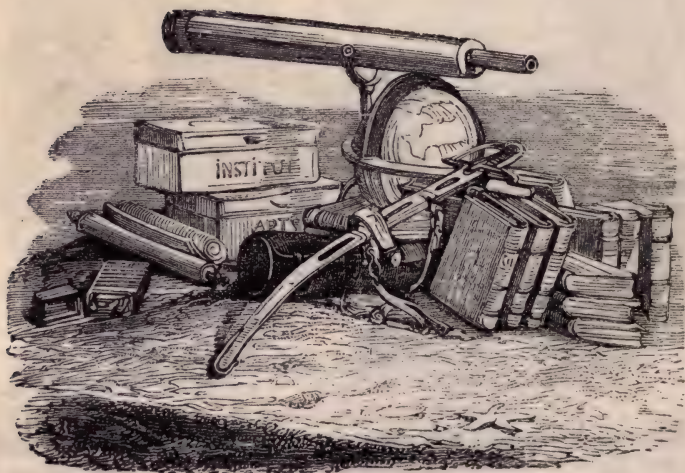


tender leave of her. He was passionately attached to this amiable woman, and their farewell was most affecting. When they reflected on the dangers to which he was about to be exposed, they might well fear that the separation would be eternal.

On the morning of the 12th the fleet sailed out of the harbour of Toulon. The sun shone brilliantly on the mighty armament, which was regarded by the soldiers as a fortunate omen. "Seldom," says Mr. Lockhart, "have the shores of the Mediterranean witnessed a

nobler spectacle. That unclouded sun rose on a semi-circle of vessels, extending in all to not less than six leagues ; thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, and four hundred transports ; carrying thirty thousand chosen soldiers, with officers whose names were only inferior to that of the General-in-chief."

It was decided that the fleet should first sail towards Genoa, where they were to be joined by a convoy collected in that port, under the orders of General Baraguay D'Hilliers ; then proceed towards Corsica, draw from it a convoy from Ajaccio, under the orders of Vaubois ; and afterwards enter the sea of Sicily, where they were to be joined by the convoy from Civita-Vecchia, under the orders of Desaix. Bonaparte's project was to call at Malta, and attempt the capture of that island, which, as it commanded the navigation of the Mediterranean, was of great importance in relation to Egypt, and could not fail of eventually falling into the power of the English, unless they were anticipated.





CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE TO EGYPT.—MALTA.—ALEXANDRIA.—BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS. 1798.



LMERGING from the harbour of Toulon, the fleet, in accordance with the plans previously decided on, directed its course towards Malta. One evening, while in the Mediterranean, the secretary of the General-in-chief fancied he perceived at the extreme verge of the horizon, then brilliantly illuminated by the setting sun, the summits of the Alps. He imparted his discovery to Bonaparte, who took no further notice than by an incredulous gesture. But admiral Brueys, looking through his glass, declared that Bourrienne was correct: "The Alps!" exclaimed Bonaparte; and after a moment of deep thought, he added: "I cannot look without emotion on Italy! Behold the East. I am going thither. A perilous enterprise calls me; these mountains overlook the plains, where I have so often had the happiness to lead the French to victory. With them we will again conquer."

During the voyage he took much pleasure in conversing with the "savans" and generals who accompanied him. With Monge and Berthollet he frequently discoursed upon metaphysics or politics. After dinner he was fond of proposing difficult questions for discussion upon abstruse subjects, in order that he might study at leisure the talents and capacity of those whom he would shortly have occasion to employ; and he always gave the preference to those who upheld most ingeniously the paradoxical and the absurd. These discussions were of no use to him but as a rational exercise, a sort of intellectual gymnastics. He sometimes gave the double problem of the age of the world, and its probable destruction; his imagination and mind seeming only at ease upon vast or sublime subjects.

In consequence of the crowded state of the vessels, and the want of precaution among those unacquainted with nautical manœuvres,

it frequently happened that a man fell overboard. On such occasions Napoleon, although so lavish of human life on the field of battle, would not rest till the person was rescued. He would order the vessel to lay-to, and would offer the most liberal rewards to the seamen to induce them to exert themselves. One dark night, the cry was raised of a man overboard. The ship was put about, and at length, after considerable exertion, it was found that the alarm had been caused by the slipping of a quarter of beef from a noose in the bulwark. Napoleon, nevertheless, distributed rewards as usual. "It might," he said, "have been a man, and the zeal and courage now displayed have not been less than would have been required in that event."



The fleet arrived before Malta on the 10th of June, and the garrison, commanded by the religious order of the Knights of St. John, was immediately summoned to surrender. This was refused; and the next day the French troops landed, and completely invested La Valette, which contained about thirty thousand inhabitants, and is one of the strongest places in Europe. Some guns being soon placed in position, commenced cannonading the forts; and consternation seized the Grand Master and Knights—who were a very different race to the warrior-priests of the middle ages. After the feeblest show of resistance the place capitulated, and the French obtained possession of the first port of the Mediterranean. There is reason to believe that the Grand Master had been successfully tampered with. Napoleon, however, denied this at St. Helena. "It was

at Mantua," said he, "that I took Malta; the generous treatment shown towards Wurmser procured me the submission of the Grand Master and the Knights." M. de Bourrienne affirms, on the contrary, that the Knights were betrayed. Caffarelli remarked to Bonaparte, while they were walking among the fortifications, "It is fortunate, General, that we had friends within to admit us; for had there been no garrison, there might have been some difficulty in obtaining an entrance."

A sufficient force was left for the defence of the place, and the voyage was resumed on the 19th. Napoleon had received intelligence that Nelson had penetrated his design, and was now in pursuit; and the greatest anxiety was in consequence manifested to avoid an encounter with their dreaded foe; for, owing to the crowded state and imperfect arming of the ships of the line and frigates, Brueys was of opinion that should the English admiral come up with them, nothing could prevent a catastrophe. "God grant," he one day exclaimed, "that we may pass without meeting the English! for had they but ten good ships they might defeat us." The expedition was, however, destined to escape the dreaded collision. Nelson, after having refitted in St. Peter's islands, had received a considerable reinforcement, which raised his squadron to thirteen sail of the line and several smaller vessels. He sailed at once for Toulon; but, finding that the French had left that port, he proceeded to Naples, where he heard of the capture of Malta and of the departure thence towards the East. He immediately concluded that Egypt was the destination of the French armament, and accordingly made all sail in that direction. On the 26th of June the adverse fleets almost touched each other off the coast of Candia, that of Nelson having been seen by one of the French frigates steering to the westward. The English arrived before Alexandria on the 28th of June, but hearing no tidings of the enemy, they sailed for Rhodes and Syracuse; and it was a month afterwards before Nelson obtained certain information of the fleet which had so strangely eluded him. The French came in sight of Alexandria on the 1st of July, nearly two months after the departure from Toulon.

On the arrival of the expedition the French resident consul was immediately sent for. To the great astonishment of his countrymen, he informed them that the English fleet had made its appearance two days previously before the port, had demanded information with respect to the French fleet, and had then continued in its course towards Alexandretta. At that very moment the signal for vessels of war was made, and the order of battle was given; a firm belief being entertained, that the English fleet was at hand.

Napoleon at this instant gave expression to the uneasiness which he felt. "Fortune," he exclaimed, "why hast thou favoured us so long to abandon us now, when former successes only adds to the

poignancy of our misfortunes? In a short time Alexandria would have been ours, and the whole of the transports would have been safe!" Happily for him, the signals were false; the vessels turned out to be French frigates, which had fallen behind, and not the English fleet.

The wind was northerly, and blew with violence, the waves dashing against the breakers, while the fleet rode three leagues from shore, so that the debarkation was rendered difficult and dangerous. Nothing, however, could retard the efforts of the Republican troops, who, incensed at the hostile intentions of the natives, became eager to humble their pride. The General-in-chief was anxious to superintend, in person, the debarkation, and he sprang on board a galley, which was immediately followed by numerous boats, wherein he had



commanded Generals Bon and Kleber to embark such portions of their divisions as were on board the ships of war; while Generals Desaix, Regnier, and Menou, whose divisions were in the transports, received orders to land, with their troops, in three columns, as near

as possible to Point Marabou. In a few minutes the briny expanse was covered with boats, which were seen stemming the fury of the boisterous deep. The galley that conveyed Bonaparte first approached the angry breakers, from whence was discovered the entrance of the creek of Marabou; and at this spot the General remained, awaiting the arrival of those barks which had been directed to join him; they did not, however, come up until after sun-set, and were unable during the night to penetrate the ledge of breakers.

Before disembarking, the following proclamation had been distributed among the troops.

“Soldiers,

“You are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, upon civilization and the commerce of the world, are incalculable. You will strike a blow at England, the most sure and vital she can receive until you inflict her death-stroke.

“We shall have some fatiguing marches; we must fight several battles; but we shall succeed in all our undertakings. Fate is favourable to us. The Mameluke Beys, who favour exclusively the English commerce, who have loaded our merchants with injuries, and who tyrannize over the unfortunate inhabitants of the Nile, will soon after our arrival have ceased to exist.

“The people with whom we are about to live are Mahometans. Their first article of faith is this: ‘There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.’ Do not contradict them: act towards them as we did towards the Jews and the Italians. Show the same regard for their muftis and imauns, as you did for the priests and rabbins. Have the same tolerance for the Koran and for the mosques as you had for the convents and synagogues, for the religion of Jesus and of Moses.

“The Roman Legions protected all religions. You will find here manners very different from those of Europe, and to which you must accustom yourselves.

“The inhabitants treat women very differently from us; but in every country he who violates is a monster.

“Pillage only enriches a few; while it dishonours an army, destroys its renown, and renders those enemies whom it is the interest of all to attach as friends.

“The first town we shall meet with was built by Alexander. Every step will awaken sublime recollections, worthy of exciting the emulation of Frenchmen.”

After this proclamation, Bonaparte published a decree, in which no individual belonging to the army was allowed to plunder, violate, raise contributions, or be guilty of any extortion whatever, under the penalty of death. He made every company responsible for the excesses of those of their members whom from partiality they might have wished to shield from the application of this fearful penalty.

The officers were also subject to a responsibility which was intended to render them more watchful and severe.

Napoleon did not wait for the landing of the whole army; but placing himself at the head of about four thousand, he marched against Alexandria, where he arrived shortly after daybreak. The attack immediately commenced; and the feeble garrison, quite unprepared to oppose an effectual resistance to such an overwhelming force, was soon reduced to submission; not, however, until a great number had been killed. In a few hours the French troops were safely quartered in the capital of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies.

In order to conciliate the Scheiks, the civil authorities of Egypt, and the peaceful inhabitants, and to induce them to believe that he had come to protect them against the tyranny of the Mamelukes, the military rulers of the country, Napoleon issued the following proclamation in French and Arabic:—

“BONAPARTE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE,
GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

“For a long period the Beys, who govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and oppressed her merchants; the hour of punishment has arrived.

“For a long time the assemblage of slaves, purchased in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the finest regions of the world; but God, who ordains everything, has determined to put an end to their sway.

“People of Egypt, you are told that I come to destroy your religion. Credit it not. Reply, that I come to restore to you your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that I reverence God, his Prophet, and the Koran, more than do the Mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal in the sight of God; wisdom, talents, and virtue, make the sole distinctions between them. Besides, what wisdom, what talents, or what virtues distinguish the Mamelukes, that they should possess exclusively all that renders life desirable and pleasant?

“If Egypt is their farm, let them show the lease that God has granted them of it. But God is just and merciful to his people.

“Egyptians alone should be appointed to fill the situations of trust. The wisest, the best informed, the most virtuous shall govern, and the people will be happy.

“You were formerly possessed of large towns, canals, and a prosperous commerce; how have you been deprived of them, if not by the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes?

“Cadis, scheiks, imauns, ulemas, tell the people that we are the friends of true Mussulmans. Is it not we who have destroyed the Pope, who had threatened to make war against them? Is it not we who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because those madmen believed it to be the will of God that they should make war against the Mussulmans? Is it not we who have been in all ages the friends

of the Grand Seigneur (may God accomplish his wishes!) and the enemy of his enemies? The Mamelukes, on the contrary, have they not revolted against his authority, which they still refuse to recognize, following but their own caprice?

“Thrice happy are those who join with us! they will prosper in fortune and in rank. Happy are those who remain neuter! they will have time to learn to know, and will then join us. But woe, threefold woe, to those who shall take up arms for the Mamelukes, and fight against us! There will be no hope for them; they shall perish!”

Bonaparte remained five days in Alexandria, that the soldiers might refresh themselves after their long voyage; during which time he busied himself in establishing French authority, and in preparing for the intended campaign. He resolved to march towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and obtain possession of that place before the inundation of the Nile commenced. Three thousand men were left in Alexandria, under the command of Kleber, who, having been severely wounded in the assault, was condemned to inaction for some months. The course lay along the banks of the Nile; and a flotilla, under the orders of Commodore Perée, was launched, which was loaded with provisions, artillery, ammunition and baggage, and was to ascend the stream and protect the right flank of the army. Desaix marched forwards with an advanced guard of five thousand men, with instructions to open communications with the Arabs, and endeavour to obtain their assistance; and, on the 7th of July, Napoleon followed with the main body, consisting of thirty thousand. They had to traverse an uncultivated wilderness, with shifting sands under their feet, a burning sun over their heads, without water or shade, with nothing for the eye to rest upon but a few tufts of palm trees, while the Arabs hung on their rear, and shot down all stragglers. The soldiers, accustomed to the genial climate of Italy, were unfit for a campaign in the arid regions of Africa, and murmured loudly at the hardships they experienced. They had been promised farms of six or seven acres, and when they found themselves in the desert, and saw the sterility around them, they were seized with despair. Nor was this discontent confined to the men; the officers participated in the ill-feeling. Lannes and Murat were seen to take off their laced hats, and trample them in the sand in a paroxysm of rage and vexation. The affection with which the soldiers regarded Napoleon prevented them from imputing their misfortunes to him, and they turned their displeasure upon the “savans,” who were supposed to be the authors of the expedition. Upon this learned body bitter jests were showered without remorse. They rode upon asses, which were denominated “demi-savans,” and jeers greeted them wherever they made their appearance. When, on any alarm, the squares were ordered to open to afford protection to the civil corps, “Room for

the asses," was shouted along the lines: "make way for the 'savans' and 'demi-savans.'" Caffarelli, in particular, who, although brave as a grenadier, was zealous in the cause of learning and science, was believed to be the man who had deceived their General. As he had lost a leg on the Rhine, they were accustomed to say, "He cares nothing for us; for whatever may happen, he is sure to have one foot in France."

The exhausted army at length reached Dumanhour, where they found a temporary relief. Napoleon established his head-quarters in the house of the Scheik, which, having been newly painted, externally presented an aspect of comfort, but within was a picture of squalidness and misery. The owner, an old man, was known to be rich, notwithstanding this appearance of poverty. Napoleon treated him kindly, and enquired why he thus mortified himself, when he possessed the means of procuring whatever luxuries the country afforded. "Some years since," replied the Scheik, "I repaired and furnished my dwelling. Information of this was carried to Cairo, and having been thus proved to be wealthy, a large sum of money was demanded of me, and the bastinado inflicted till I promised to pay it. Look at my feet, which bear witness what I endured. From that time I have limited myself to the barest necessities, and no longer seek to repair anything." He was still lame, and walked with difficulty. This is a specimen of the tyranny of the Mamelukes, and of the oppressions to which the unfortunate people were subjected.

On the 10th the army halted at Rahmaniah, where it waited until the flotilla came up. It was here joined by the division of Dugua, which had come by forced marches from Rosetta. Most of the "savans," and others of the civil service, were now embarked in the flotilla. On the 13th the march was resumed; and the difficulties of the French soldiers were now greatly increased by the number of Mamelukes who began to show themselves on each side of the Nile, and who engaged in continuous and harassing skirmishes with the invaders.

Murad Bey, one of the most intrepid of the Mamelukes, had assembled a large force, and determined to oppose the advance of the French at the village of Chebreisse. He had collected seven or eight gun-boats, and constructed several batteries on the banks of the river, which engaged in an obstinate combat with the French flotilla. Commodore Perée and his sailors displayed the greatest courage, and were admirably seconded by the cavalry soldiers, who had been brought out dismounted to Egypt, and who, hoping soon to be equipped at the expense of the Mamelukes, were being transported by water. In the end, the enemy was repulsed with the loss of some of his gun-boats. The "savans," Monge and Berthollet, and De Bourrienne, displayed great gallantry in this engagement. The troops now came up in five divisions, which were formed by Bonaparte

into as many squares, in the centre of which the baggage was placed. The artillery was at the angles. Against these solidly formed squares the Mameluke horsemen dashed with the utmost impetuosity, and endeavoured to penetrate the serried fence of bayonets which met them. Baffled in these attempts, and intimidated by the terrific fire which was kept up by the French soldiery, they rapidly withdrew, having lost two or three hundred of their number in the action.



The night succeeding the battle the army bivouacked at Shabur, where they enjoyed the shade of some fine sycamore trees. They found here abundance of water-melons, which were highly palatable and nutritious. This fruit they afterwards met with in great plenty along the banks of the Nile; and the soldiers expressed their sense of its value by naming it, like the ancient Egyptians, "Holy battech." The remainder of the march was accompanied by the same discomforts they had before experienced, excepting that they were less harassed by the Mamelukes; for Murad Bey had drawn together all his forces in the neighbourhood of Cairo, in order to prepare for a vigorous defence of the capital.

At dawn on the 21st the army came within sight of the first body of the enemy they had seen since the battle of Chebreisse, and these rapidly retreated as the French advanced. At noon on the same day

the lines of Murad Bey were distinguished, extending from the Nile towards the Pyramids. He had assembled there the greater part of the Mamelukes, near ten thousand in number, and about twenty thousand infantry or mixed troops, and had constructed a large entrenched camp on the banks of the river. Napoleon, on reconnoitring, by the aid of a telescope discovered that the Turkish artillery was without field carriages, being merely large iron field pieces taken out of the vessels, and served by the crews that had been engaged at Chebreisse. He at once comprehended that neither the guns nor the infantry were intended to quit the camp, and saw that by prolonging the French right, the army might operate in that direction out of the range of the cannon. He therefore resolved first to defeat the Mamelukes and drive them into the Nile, and then it would not be difficult to deal with the multitude swarming in the entrenched camp.

As the French soldiers came in sight of the lofty minarets of Cairo, and beheld on their right, in the desert, the gigantic Pyramids, they halted, struck with surprise and admiration. Napoleon, his countenance radiant with enthusiasm, galloped in front of the ranks, and, pointing to the eternal monuments towering above them, called out to his followers: "Soldiers, reflect that from the summits of these Pyramids forty centuries look down upon you!" The troops advanced at a quickened pace, and soon found themselves in front of the enemy's line, the gorgeous cavalry of the Mamelukes, with their arms sparkling in the sun, presenting a splendid appearance. The French General soon made his dispositions. The army, as at Chebreisse, was distributed into five divisions, each division being formed into a square, six ranks deep; the artillery was at the angles, the baggage and the Generals in the centre. These squares were movable. When in march, two sides marched on the flank; and, when charged, they were to halt, and make front on all sides. Orders were given to the men not to fire hastily, but to wait coolly for the enemy to come up, and then to fire with steady aim. Desaix, whose division was on the extreme right, first moved forward, and was followed by Regnier's square, and then by Dugua's, in the centre of which Napoleon placed himself. The other two divisions moved towards the village of Embabeh. Murad Bey, seeing the French columns in motion, with intuitive military genius immediately divined his adversary's intention, and foresaw that the fate of his army depended upon frustrating the manœuvre. Leaving two thousand Mamelukes to defend Embabeh, he advanced at the head of about eight thousand of his splendid cavalry in order to overthrow or drive back the squares on the right. The corps of Desaix, which had just emerged from a grove of palm-trees, had not quite formed when the first horsemen appeared; but the men fell into position with rapidity, and by the time the main body of the Mamelukes came up, were ready to receive their charge. These chivalrous warriors of the

desert rushed with the utmost impetuosity on their enemies ; but the French soldiers awaited them with calmness, and greeted them with a close fire of grape and musketry. Checked by this discharge, they



wheeled round and reined their horses backward upon the ranks, that they might fall into and disorder them. But although by this means they succeeded in making a breach in one place, and thirty or forty forced their way into the centre, where they met their death at the very feet of Desaix, the square remained perfect. Becoming frantic at the failure of their efforts, they hurled their carbines, pistols, and poniards at their foes, while the wounded crawled along the ground to cut at the legs of their opponents with their scimitars. Still the French phalanxes were immovable ; and, at length, turning off from

Desaix's square, they rushed upon Regnier's, which came after. Received by a similar discharge, they turned back, but found upon their rear Dugua's division ; and unable to sustain the attack of fresh antagonists, they fell into complete disorder, were panic-stricken, and fled. Some escaped towards the right, on the side of the Pyramids ; others threw themselves into Embabeh, into which they carried confusion. Murad Bey himself and a few of his followers escaped towards Gizeh ; but, by so doing, the chief was separated from his army.

Napoleon now ordered an advance on the entrenched camp, and accordingly the two divisions on the left moved forward to carry it. This movement was no sooner perceived than the confusion in the camp became terrific. The infantry became mixed with the cavalry ; and while some rushed to the boats and other vessels at hand to cross the Nile, others, perceiving the impossibility of escape in that direction, endeavoured to regain the Gizeh road. Murad Bey turned back and made several desperate charges in order to open a way for the fugitives ; but in vain. The French impetuously charged the entrenchments, driving into the Nile multitudes of the Arabs. Many were drowned ; but as the Egyptians are excellent swimmers the greater number succeeded in saving themselves. The Mamelukes set fire to the vessels which contained their wealth, and the French soldiers had the mortification to behold during the whole night the flames devouring the rich booty.

The loss of the French in this battle scarcely exceeded a hundred killed and wounded, while that of the enemy was estimated at ten thousand men. Not more than two thousand five hundred of Murad's splendid cavalry escaped ; and the Turkish artillery, pontoons, and baggage, with a thousand prisoners, eight or nine hundred camels, and as many horses fell into the hands of the victors. For several days afterwards the French employed themselves in fishing up the bodies of the Mamelukes who had been drowned in the Nile, in order to strip them of the gold they were accustomed to carry about with them—frequently amounting to four or five hundred louis-d'ors.

Napoleon fixed his head-quarters that night at Gizeh, on the banks of the Nile, in a country-house belonging to Murad Bey, an elegant and luxurious residence. The apartments were filled with cushions and divans, covered with the finest damask and Lyons' silk, and fringed with gold. The gardens abounded in choice fruits and beautiful flowers, and the vines were loaded with the finest grapes. Considerable provisions were found at Gizeh and Embabeh ; and the soldiers, beholding the plenty around them, began to be reconciled to Egypt, and to believe that the glowing descriptions of the fertility and richness of the country had not been exaggerated.

The next day, the 22nd of July, Bonaparte approached Cairo ; and published the following proclamation :

“ People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your conduct ; you have done well in not taking part against me. I have come to destroy the race of the Mamelukes, to protect commerce, and the rightful inhabitants of the country. Let all those who are in fear be tranquillised, let those who have absented themselves, return to their houses ; let prayers be said to day as usual, as I wish it always to be. Fear nothing for your families, your houses, your property, or especially for the religion of the Prophet, which I reverence. As it will be necessary to establish a police in order to preserve the public tranquillity, a divan composed of seven persons shall be formed, to meet at the mosque of Ver ; two shall be always with the governor of the place, and four shall be occupied in maintaining public tranquillity and watching over the police.”



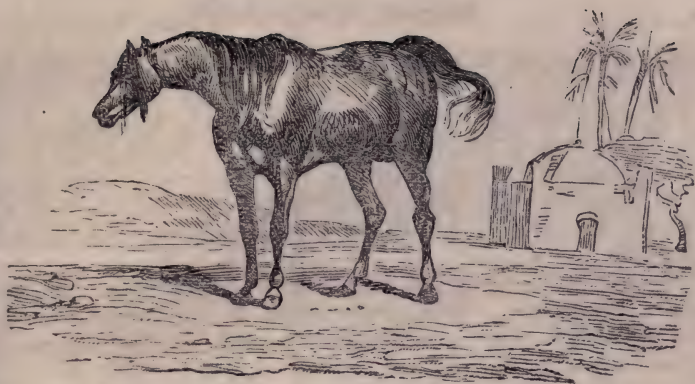
Bonaparte entered the capital of Egypt on the 24th of July. He fixed his head-quarters in the house of Elphi Bey, in the great square of El Bekir. A deputation waited upon him to implore his clemency and protection. The name of Bonaparte had spread terror throughout the country. From the deadly effects of the musketry,

he was styled "Sultan Kebir," or father of fire ; and a superstitious fear arose among the ignorant people that he was born to be a scourge of their race, and that it was hopeless to attempt resistance against his invincible power.

On the 25th he wrote to his brother Joseph, who was then a member of the Council of Five Hundred : " You will see in the public journals the bulletins of the conquest of Egypt, a country the possession of which has been sufficiently disputed to add another leaf to the military glory of this army. Egypt, in which barbarism is at its height, is the richest country in the world in corn, rice, vegetables, and cattle ; but there is no money, not even sufficient to pay the troops. I expect to return to France in two months. Engage for me a country-house, either near Paris or in Burgundy ; I hope to pass the winter there."

This letter proves that Napoleon believed his conquests sufficiently assured to enable him to confide the preservation of them to the prudence and skill of his lieutenants. But, wherefore this unexpected return to France ? Was it to seek fresh military resources and the elements of colonization, as some have thought ? or had he no other view, than to approach the theatre where his destiny called him to play the leading character, and where the events which he had so long wished for and foreseen, and which were to effect his elevation, were now approaching. It appears to us, that the last supposition is more likely.





CHAPTER VIII.

IBRAHIM BEY.—BATTLE OF THE NILE.—ESTABLISHMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OF BONAPARTE IN EGYPT.—CAMPAIGN OF SYRIA.—RETURN INTO EGYPT.—BATTLE OF ABOUKIR.—DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE. 1798—1799.



HE General-in-chief lost no time in forming a regular administration at Cairo. A divan was established, composed of the principal Scheiks and the most distinguished inhabitants: and it was agreed that similar ones should be established in the provinces, which should send deputies to the divan at Cairo. The strictest discipline was enforced in the army—

which was indeed necessary, from the disposition manifested by the troops to disregard the peculiar customs and prejudices of the inhabitants. So exact, therefore, was the administration of justice under Napoleon, and so greatly superior in point of security to that of the Mameluke Beys, that notwithstanding the difference of creed, in the course of a few days the best understanding was established. The French were freely admitted into the houses of the Egyptians, and might often be seen taking coffee and smoking with them, or playing with their children. The soldiers found splendid asses in the country, and in great numbers; and nothing pleased them better than to take these animals into the environs of the city, and gallop them about the plains, occasioning many accidents to the grave inhabitants of Cairo.

After the battle of the Pyramids, Murad Bey fled into Upper Egypt. Desaix was sent in pursuit; but the Mussulmans scarcely attempted to make a stand, and, owing to the swiftness and hardihood of their

horses, managed to outstrip their pursuers, and keep their forces intact. Towards the end of July, Ibrahim Bey, a Mameluke chief of great skill and courage, had collected a multitude of Arabs from the borders of the Desert, and began to make head in Syria. This intelligence caused Napoleon to despatch Le Clerc and Regnier to Elkanah; and eventually to follow in person with the divisions of Lannes and Dugua, in order to crush the rising before it became formidable.

Ibrahim did not await the approach of the French, but hurried towards the Desert. Being encumbered by the women and slaves of his household, and by the weight and bulk of a large booty which he had seized by the way in a marauding attack upon the caravan of Mecca, the soldiers of Napoleon overtook him at a place called Salahieh. The cavalry, not more than two or three hundred in number, were in advance of the main body; the horses and men were excessively fatigued; and night was gathering. Napoleon therefore hesitated to attack, when a party of Arabs, who had deserted Ibrahim, offered to assist in charging their late comrades if they were allowed a share of the booty. The offer being accepted, an obstinate combat took place, in which every Frenchman present found himself engaged. Murat, Duroc, Colbert, and all the officers of the staff were in the thickest of the fight. At length Ibrahim Bey, having been wounded, gave the signal to retreat, leaving the French in possession of the field, but in no condition to pursue their enemies.

Immediately after this battle Napoleon was informed by an aide-de-camp, sent by Kleber from Alexandria, that Nelson had destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir roads; and this intelligence occasioned his immediate return to Cairo. The English admiral, as we have previously narrated, after having touched at Alexandria, had sailed for Rhodes and Syracuse. After having scoured every part of the Archipelago, he returned to Naples and Sicily, and at length received positive information of the French having landed at Alexandria. He immediately sailed in that direction, and on the 1st of August—a memorable day for England—came in sight of the French fleet lying at anchor in the bay of Aboukir.

As the details of the battle of the Nile properly belong to Naval History, we will only briefly relate the circumstances connected with that event, which exercised so important an influence on the affairs of Europe. It appears that Admiral Brueys had been instructed, as soon as he had disembarked the artillery and army stores, to put to sea, and either return to Toulon or make for Corfu, one of the Ionian islands, which had fallen to France by the partition of Venice. But unwilling to leave the coast until he had received certain intelligence that Bonaparte had safely established himself in the country, the fleet was still at anchor when the British squadron appeared. The French admiral had taken what precautions his bad position admitted,

by anchoring his ships in semicircular line of battle close to the shore, thinking it impossible for ships of war to get between them and the land; but Nelson, on reconnoitring, instantly comprehended that if the French ships could ride in safety, there must be room for others to anchor between them and the shore. He accordingly resolved to attack at once; while Brueys, who was at dinner, and who did not expect to be molested that day, as it was then past six in the afternoon, had neglected to properly clear his vessels for action. When the British, therefore, bore down, with the evident determination of forcing the French line, the consternation of the latter was extreme. They, however, opened a heavy fire on the advancing vessels; but Nelson's van, consisting of six seventy-fours, wasting no idle shot, held on its course, and each vessel, successively rounding the French line, dropped anchor beside its chosen opponent, and instantly commenced a terrific fire. Nelson, with the remainder of his fleet, ranged along the other side, thus placing the French ships engaged between two fires, while the remainder were unable for a time to take part in the contest. The French fought with desperation. The battle raged with fury to sunset, and was continued throughout the night by the flashing light of the dreadful broadsides. By eleven o'clock several French ships had struck, and the English had begun to assail those which had not previously been engaged, when the flag-ship of Brueys, "*L'Orient*," was discovered to be on fire. After blazing for some time, it blew up with a tremendous explosion. The awe inspired by this event put a stop for a time to the work of death; but the firing was soon resumed, and was continued till noon the next day, when two line-of-battle ships and two frigates, the only French vessels that had their colours flying, cut their cables and put to sea; the rest were destroyed or captured. Brueys and many French officers of distinction were killed in the engagement—which was perhaps the most disastrous in its consequences the French navy had ever maintained.

This defeat was eventually fatal to the expedition. Unable to receive reinforcements from France, and not even able to communicate with that country, the army was obliged to rely on its own resources for success. Napoleon was at first completely overwhelmed by the tidings. His dreams of Oriental dominion were dissipated, and the basis of his calculations destroyed. "Before the fatal first of August," says De Bourrienne, "it had been Bonaparte's intention, the possession of Egypt once assured, to carry back to Toulon the fleet, now become useless; and, after sending troops and necessities to Egypt, to unite the fleet with all those forces of France and of her allies which the government would then have assembled against England. It is certain that, before departing upon the eastern expedition, he had submitted to the Directory a note relative to these grand designs. Extraordinary and gigantic ideas occupied him unceasingly.

He always regarded a descent upon Britain as possible : but ever as certainly fatal while we were so inferior at sea. By these different manœuvres he hoped to gain the ascendancy there also. By his sudden appearance and great preparations on the coast, he purposed either to effect a descent, the English fleet being absent in the Mediterranean, or hoped, by thus exciting alarms at home, at least to prevent troops being sent against the force in Egypt; or both these objects might be successively accomplished. He delighted himself with the sublimity of dating a dispatch from the ruins of Memphis, and three months after from the rich and populous city of London! The loss of the marine destroyed all this combination, converting into an empty dream those romantic and adventurous conceptions."



After having discharged the duties of humanity to the brave men who had fallen at Aboukir, Napoleon applied himself, with indefatigable ardour and activity, in the civil organization of Egypt. He

felt more than ever the necessity of conciliating the inhabitants of the country, and of forming lasting establishments. One of his first and principal creations was an Institute on the plan of that of Paris. He divided it into four classes:—mathematics, physick, political economy, literature and the fine arts. Monge was appointed president, and Bonaparte conferred on himself the title of vice-president. The installation of this body took place with great solemnity. It was there that the illustrious warrior confirmed his promise to the head of the Institute of France, not to be proud of any conquests but those he obtained over ignorance; until the progress of his arms should be identified with the progress of enlightenment.

Bonaparte, already popular among the Mussulmans, was admitted and invited by them to all their festivals. It was thus that he assisted, but without presiding, as was believed, at those of the overflowing of the Nile, and the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet. The respect which he showed for the religion of the Prophet on all occasions, contributed not a little in making his name and authority respected by the Egyptians. Some have affected to discover a sort



of sympathy for Islamism in conduct, which displayed nothing more than the skilful politician. M. de Bourrienne, who was an eyewitness, contradicts all that Sir Walter Scott and other writers have advanced, respecting the solemn participation of Bonaparte in the Mussulman ceremonies. He affirms that he only appeared as a simple spectator, and always in the French costume. Napoleon was

neither Mussulman nor Christian ; he and his army represented, in Egypt, the French philosophy—the tolerating scepticism and the religious indifference of the eighteenth century. But in the absence of positive religion in his mind, he nourished a vague religion in his soul.



The anniversary of the foundation of the Republic was celebrated at Cairo, on the 1st Vendemiaire, year VII (September 22nd, 1798). Bonaparte presided at this patriotic solemnity : " Soldiers," said he to his companions in arms, " it is five years since the independence of the people was menaced ; you retook Toulon, which was the pre-sage of the ruin of your enemies. One year after, you beat the Austrians at Dego ; the following year you were on the summit of the Alps. Two years ago, you struggled against Mantua, and gained the celebrated battle of St. George. Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Ysonzo, on your turn from Germany. Who would have then said that you would now be on the banks of

he Nile, in the centre of the ancient continent? You attract the attention of the whole world, from the English, so renowned for arts and commerce, to the hideous and ferocious Bedouins. Soldiers! your destiny is noble, because you are worthy of that which you have done, and of the opinion which is entertained of you; you will die with honour, like the heroes whose names are inscribed upon this Pyramid,* or you will return to your country, covered with laurels, and with the admiration of all nations.

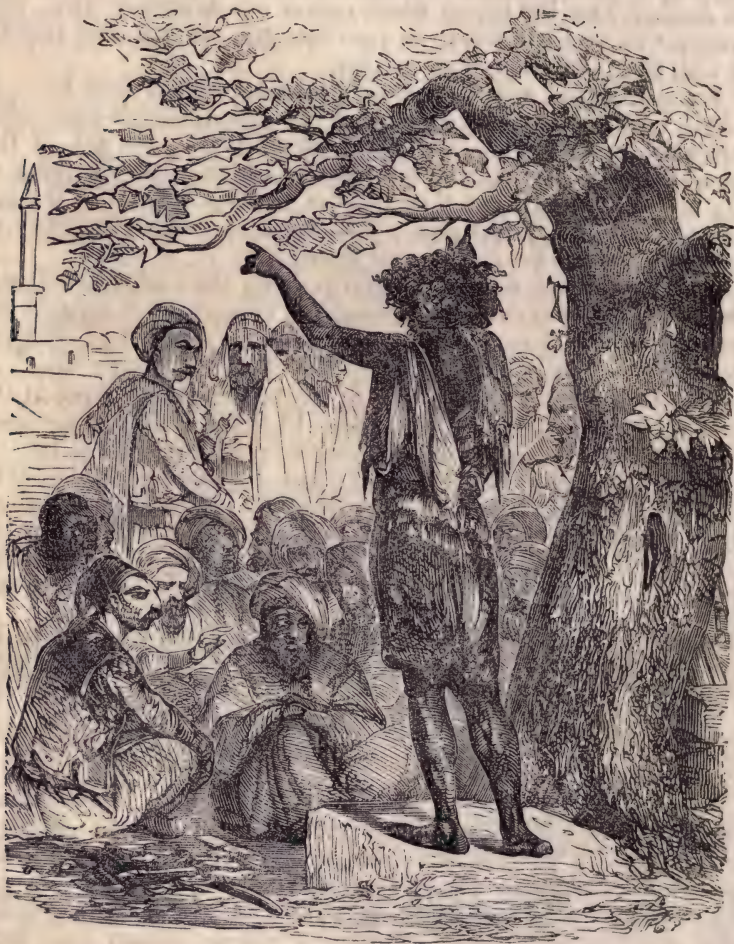
"During the five months that we have been absent from Europe, we have been the constant objects of our countrymen's solicitude. On this day, forty millions of citizens are celebrating the era of the Representative Government; forty millions of citizens now think of you; and all say, 'It is to their labours, to their blood that we are indebted for this universal peace, for repose, for the prosperity of commerce, and the benefits of civil liberty.'"

On their side, the Sheicks, in gratitude for the part which Bonaparte had taken at their festivals, joined, in appearance at least, in the rejoicings of the French army. They made the Grand Mosque resound with songs of gladness; they prayed to the great Allah, "to bless the favourite of Victory, and to prosper the brave army of the West." It was at the house of the Sheick, El-Bekri, that Napoleon participated in the celebration of the anniversary of Mahomet. He saw there two young Mamelukes, Ibrahim and Roustan, whom he asked of the Sheick, and who presented them to him. They remained faithfully attached to the General, following him through every vicissitude of fortune, until they were compulsorily separated from him by the reverses of 1815, when one of them, Ibrahim, stabbed himself from grief and despair.

It soon appeared that the friendship of the Arabs was not to be depended upon, and was assumed to lull the invaders into a false security. As the French gradually relaxed the precautions they had adopted on taking possession of Cairo, the natives became bolder and more designing. In the mosques, other exhortations than those of religion were uttered, which, eliciting no official notice, were followed by seditious harangues, calling upon the inhabitants, in the name of the Grand Seignior, to arm and join the Mamelukes in expelling the invaders. A general rising was thus organized, not only in the capital but throughout Egypt. Murad and Ibrahim Bey, in the meantime, appealing to the passions of the motley assemblage of troops under their command, promised them a speedy victory over their enemies. At the same time numerous fanatics, pretending to be divinely inspired, traversed the country, preaching a crusade against the infidels, and calling upon the faithful to rise and exterminate the

* It caused to be engraved on Pompey's column the names of the first forty soldiers who died in Egypt.

enemies of the Prophet. The whole nation was thus prepared, at a concerted signal, to throw off the French yoke, and free all true believers from what they considered a degrading servitude.



The insurrection broke out on the 21st of October. General Dupuis, the commandant of the citadel, was one of the first victims. Unsuspecting any treachery, he had dined with, and been complimented by several of the inhabitants on the previous day. Napoleon received intelligence of the outbreak at five o'clock in the morning,

when, placing himself at the head of about thirty Guides, he hastened to the scene of danger, in order to prepare vigorous means of defence, and restore the confidence of the soldiery. This was soon accomplished, and he returned to head-quarters; but had scarcely arrived there when he was informed that a party of Bedouins were endeavouring to force the gates. He immediately despatched Sulkowsky, one of his aide-de-camps, a gallant young Pole, to repair with fifteen Guides to the point most threatened. A short time after his departure, one of the Guides rushed into the apartment, covered with blood, and reported that their brave leader, with fourteen of his companions, had been massacred by the Arabs. Napoleon, who loved Sulkowsky for his many sterling qualities, was excessively enraged at this intelligence. He instantly gave orders to pursue the murderers with the utmost rigour—"to kill and spare not." The insurgents, after fighting desperately in the streets and squares, fled for refuge to the principal mosque. Finding the place surrounded with artillery, they sent an offer of capitulation, which was scornfully rejected. "The hour of clemency," said Napoleon, "is past. The Arabs commenced, it is for me to finish." The doors of the mosque were blown open, and a frightful carnage ensued. For two whole days the city was under a constant fire from the French batteries. On the third day order was restored. Numerous prisoners were taken; among them several Scheiks, who expected death, but were merely retained as hostages; many others were executed as examples, being sewn into sacks and thrown into the Nile. De Bourrienne says, that several women were so treated; but this is probably a slander, as the assertion is unsupported by concurrent testimony. No doubt terrible displays were necessary, in order to overcome the hate of the Moslems.

The British government, meanwhile, taking advantage of the impression produced by Nelson's victory, had succeeded in rousing the divan of Constantinople to acts of hostility against France. A manifesto of the Grand Seignior, filled with imprecations and invectives, devoted the flag of the Republic to ignominy, and its soldiers to extermination. Bonaparte replied to the outrages and provocations by a proclamation, which terminated thus:—"The greatest of the Prophets has said, 'Sedition has fallen asleep, cursed be he that shall awaken it!'"

In the mean time the country was diligently explored, and every species of information collected which might enable Napoleon to protect his acquisitions and extend his dominion. On Christmas-eve he set out on a journey to Suez, in order to examine the traces of the ancient canal which formerly connected the waters of the Nile with the Red Sea. Monge and Berthollet accompanied him. Wishing to visit the celebrated fountains of Moses, he nearly became a victim to his curiosity by losing his way in the dark, as the tide was coming

in. "I ran the danger of perishing like Pharaoh," said he, "which would not have failed to furnish all the preachers of Christianity with a magnificent text against me!" The monks of Mount Sinai, learning his approach, sent him a deputation, requesting he would write



his name upon their register, as had been done by Mahomet, Ali, Saladin, Ibrahim, etc. Napoleon did not refuse them a favour which flattered his vanity, and his passion for celebrity.

Towards the end of January, Napoleon learned that the Porte was making great preparations against him. It was forming two armies, one at Rhodes the other in Syria, which were to act simultaneously in the spring. One was to land at Aboukir, and the other to advance from the Desert. Achmet Pacha, surnamed Djazzar, or Butcher, was appointed Seraskier of the army assembling in Syria, and he had already taken possession of the fortresses of Gaza and El-Arish, the latter of which, being the key to Egypt, he was occupied in repairing. Napoleon saw that, if he remained stationary, he would have to contend with both armies at once, and he resolved to disconcert the plans of the enemy by destroying the musters that were being formed at Acre, Damascus, and the other principal towns. By surprising the principal forts he might take Syria in a short space of time, and add this fine conquest to that of Egypt. His ardent imagination went still further, as he hoped, by becoming master of the Euphrates as

he was of the Nile, to open communications with India, and dispute with England the possession of that splendid empire.

Having secured the submission of Lower Egypt by placing strong garrisons and able commandants in the principal cities and fortresses, Napoleon commenced his march towards Asia early in February, at the head of about thirteen thousand men. He had created a regiment of an entirely new arm—that of the dromedaries. The physical capacity of this animal renders it peculiarly adapted for journeying in the Desert. It will travel upwards of twenty leagues a day, for several successive days, without water, and with very little food, over burning sands and under a torrid sun. The General-in-chief himself



crossed the Desert on one. During this march the soldiers suffered great privations from the intense heat and the want of water, but the men generally exhibited a better spirit than in the first Egyptian campaign, when they had to endure similar hardships, and endeavoured to diminish by pleasantries the inconveniences they suffered. They were also stimulated by the example of their General, who marched by their side, supporting, with impaired health, the same privations and fatigues as themselves.

Proceeding towards El-Arish, the vanguard, under the command of Kleber, lost its way, and became bewildered in the sandy mazes of the wilderness. Napoleon himself, with a slender escort, set out in search of the fugitives, and, at nightfall, found he was approaching the vicinity of a Mahometan encampment, instead of a division of his own army. He was pursued, but escaped, as the enemy, it being night, suspected an ambuscade. Some Arabs at length informed him of the route Kleber had taken; and after a rapid journey of several

hours the detachment was found, overwhelmed with despair, and ready to perish with hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Some of the men had become mutinous, and had broken their muskets in their frenzy. On beholding Napoleon their hopes revived; and, on his announcing that water and provisions were near at hand, they were inspired with new life and energy. The General-in-chief reproved them severely for their breach of discipline. "If," said he, "relief had been delayed, that would not have excused your want of courage and of patience. Soldiers! learn to die with honour!" Notwithstanding the expedients to which recourse had been had, in order to secure a constant supply of water during this expedition, the resources were found to be insufficient, chiefly through the waste committed by the men; and every one was ready to sink with excess of suffering. On several occasions, the French soldier, on the burning sands of Arabia, could with difficulty be induced to yield his chief a few drops of muddy water, or the shade of some fragments of an old wall. One day, when the General-in-chief felt nearly suffocated by the heat of the sun, he obtained permission, as a favour, to lay his head in the shade formed by the remains of a gate. "And in this," said Napoleon, "they made me a great concession." Removing some stones with



his foot, he discovered a superb cameo of Augustus, which the savans valued very highly, and which Napoleon gave at first to Andreossy, but afterwards took from him again, to gratify Josephine with it. It was among the ruins of Pelusium that this discovery took place.

At a place called Messoudiah, or "the Fortunate," upon the confines of the Desert, a good supply of water was obtained, by piercing

the sand to the depth of five or six inches. "It was amusing," says De Bourrienne, "to see almost every soldier, including the Commander-in-chief, sprawling upon the earth, digging miniature wells with their hands, and exercising a variety of stratagems, to secure the most abundant spring." A few patches of vegetation, with trees and fountains, were now occasionally met with, and these increased in frequency and verdure as the army approached Syria. The march was also more pleasant, as they were near the Mediterranean, and were refreshed by a grateful breeze from its cool waters.

The army arrived before El-Arish on the 16th of February, the vanguard of Djezzar retreating into the place as the French approached. After a short resistance, the garrison, amounting to about thirteen thousand men, surrendered. Considerable stores were found in the fort. Ibrahim Bey attempted to succour the place, but was speedily put to flight, his camp remaining in possession of the French, and proving an immense booty to them. On the 22nd the march was resumed; and on the 24th the troops encamped in Asia, near the pillars which mark the separation of that continent from Africa. On the following day they advanced upon Gaza. About



three or four thousand of Djezzar's cavalry were drawn up to check their march. Murat received orders to charge; but the Mussulmans scarcely awaited the onset, and rapidly retreated. Gaza was entered

on the same day, and supplied a seasonable stock of provisions and ammunition.

On the 29th the army reached Rameh, the ancient Arimathea, which the enemy precipitately abandoned, leaving behind large stores of provisions, and fifteen hundred water-skins. Napoleon established his head-quarters in a small convent, inhabited by two monks, who exhibited the spring at which the Saviour's thirst was quenched in the flight of his family from Judea to Egypt. Rameh is only six leagues distant from Jerusalem; and the General-in-chief was asked whether it was his intention to visit the holy city. "No," he answered, abruptly; "Jerusalem lies not in my line of operations. I court no dealings with mountaineers in their own rugged defiles. On the other side of the mountain I should be assailed by a numerous cavalry; and I am not ambitious of the fate of Crassus."

On the 4th of March the army encamped before Jaffa (the Joppa of the scriptures) where the enemy had considerable forces. The walls were carried by storm, three thousand Turks died with arms



in their hands, and the town was given up during three hours to the fury of the French soldiery. "The carnage," says De Bourrienne, "was horrible. Bonaparte sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Crosier, to appease, as far as possible, the fury of the soldiery; to

examine what passed, and report. They learned that a numerous detachment of the garrison had retired into a strong position, where large buildings, or caravanserais, surrounded a court yard. This court they entered, displaying the scarfs which marked their rank. The Albanians and Arnauts, composing nearly the entire of these refugees, cried out from the windows, that they wished to surrender, on condition of their lives being spared; if not, threatening to fire upon the officers, and to defend themselves to the last extremity. The young men conceived they ought, and had power, to accede to the demand, in opposition to the sentence of death pronounced against the garrison of every place taken by assault. I was walking with General Bonaparte before his tent, when these prisoners, in two columns, amounting to about four thousand, were marched into the camp. When he beheld the mass of men arrive, and before seeing the aides-de-camp, he turned to me with an expression of consternation,—‘What would they have me to do with these? have I provisions to feed them? ships to transport them, either to Egypt or France? How the devil could they play me this trick?’ The two aides-de-camp, on their arrival and explanations, received the strongest reprimands; to their defence, that they were alone amid numerous enemies, and that he had recommended them to appease the slaughter, ‘Yes,’ replied the General, in the sternest tone, ‘without doubt, the slaughter of women, children, old men, the peaceable inhabitants; but not of armed soldiers. You ought to have braved death, and not brought these to me: what would you have me do with them?’”

The world knows what Napoleon “did with them.” “I ordered,” says he, when at St. Helena, “about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, amongst the garrison at Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arish, and sent to Bagdad upon their parole not to serve again, or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdad, by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdad, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now, if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d’Acre, and would have played over again the same scene that they had done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers; as every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number, in consequence

of the breach of faith of those wretches, was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than as I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorise the putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances, independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arish, who, in defiance of their capitulation, had been found bearing arms against me, should be selected out, and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would do the same thing to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances."

The taking of Jaffa was announced at Cairo by the following proclamation: "In the name of God, the holy and merciful Father of the world, who does what he pleases with all that is His, the disposer of victory, this is the recital of the favours that the most High has granted to the French Republic. We have taken possession of Jaffa in Syria.

"Djezzar had intended returning to Egypt, the house of the poor, with the Arabian brigands. But the decrees of God have destroyed man's cunning. He desired to shed blood according to his barbarous usage, in order to increase his pride; and in accordance with the bad principles he had received from the Mamelukes, and from his own shallow mind.

"On the 26th Ramazan, the French army surrounded Jaffa. On the 27th, the General-in-chief caused trenches to be dug, as he saw that the town was furnished with cannon, and contained a great many persons. On the 29th, the trench was about one hundred feet long. He had guns mounted, and batteries raised on the side towards the sea, to stop those who might have attempted to escape.

"On the Thursday, the last day of Ramazan, the General-in-chief felt compassion for the inhabitants of Jaffa; he sent a message to the governor, but contrary to all the laws of war, and of Mahomet, they only replied by arresting the herald.

"Immediately the anger of Bonaparte burst forth; he gave orders to maintain a constant fire from the artillery and bombs. In a few minutes the cannons of Jaffa were dismounted. By noon a breach had been effected; the assault commenced, and in less than an hour the French had taken the town and fort. The pillage continued all night. On Friday, the General took pity on the Egyptians who were at Jaffa; he granted pardon to all, both rich and poor, and suffered them to return to their native country. He acted in the same manner with regard to those at Damascus and Aleppo.

"In the contest more than four thousand men were killed. The French lost but few, and had only a small number wounded.

O worshippers of God, submit yourselves to His will, observe

His commandments. Know that the world is His, and that He gives it to whom He pleases."

The French army had brought into Syria the germ of the plague; it developed itself at the siege of Jaffa, and became every day more ravaging. Napoleon, with a moral courage infinitely superior to the physical command of nerve displayed in battle, daily visited the hospitals in person, to see that the sick were properly attended, and to inspire them with such confidence as might diminish the power of the disease, as well as fortify others against the fear of contagion. He remarked of the Adjutant-general Grésieux, who would not touch any one, in order to guard himself from contagion, "If he is afraid of the plague he will die of it." His prediction was accomplished at the siege of Acre.

On the 14th the army commenced its march from Jaffa; and on the 18th arrived before St. Jean d'Acre, originally made memorable by the exploits of Richard Cœur de Lion, and other heroic Crusaders. Djézzar, having repaired the old defences, and added new works of great strength, was determined to defend the place till the last. Fortunately for the Pacha, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith was at that time cruising before Acre with two English ships, having on board M. Phélippeaux, a French royalist officer of great talent, and to these distinguished allies was confided the direction of the means of defence. Napoleon took up a position on an eminence which commanded the place; and on the 20th, opened his trenches. But it soon appeared that he had miscalculated the effect of the terror of his name. His battering train was very small, and he was provided with only two hundred rounds of shot, which was soon expended. A supply was obtained from the English by stratagem. A few horsemen and waggons, from time to time, would make their appearance on the beach, when the English gun-boats would approach and open fire; and the soldiers, who received five sous for each ball they brought into the camp, ran and picked them up. By this means a considerable quantity was obtained.

Towards the end of April the most furious contests took place daily; sorties were made with various success, the besieged sometimes carrying every thing before them, and then being driven back again with great loss and disorder. Dismay and death were scattered around. On the first of May possession was obtained at peep of dawn of the most salient point by twenty French volunteers; and at the same moment the English and Turks made a sortie, which was briskly repulsed in its turn, and several hundreds killed. On the seventh the town received a reinforcement of fresh troops. At night the French fought their way through the breach, and had gained a footing in the place, when the troops which had landed appeared in formidable numbers to renew the battle. Rambaud was killed; and a great many fell with him. Lannes was wounded. The besieged

then sallied forth by every gate, and took the breach in rear, but they were attacked in turn, and cut off. Every thing appeared so favourable, that on the tenth, at two in the morning, Napoleon ordered a new assault. General Dubois was killed in this skirmish; and on advancing, Djezzar's house and all the avenues were so thronged with defenders, that the soldiers could not pass beyond the breach. There seemed no hope of carrying the place by a 'coup-de-main.' The French, remote as they were from France and Egypt, could not afford fresh losses; they had already twelve hundred wounded, and the plague was in the hospitals. Accordingly, on the twentieth, the siege was raised. The resistance made was no doubt owing to the spirit and bravery of the gallant English admiral, and his French coadjutor. The attack was obstinate and well-directed: and there was a proportionable activity, courage, and readiness of expedient opposed to it. A spirit like Ariel flamed on every part of the walls, and a master-hand was discernible in all the operations. Bonaparte spoke highly of the courage and character of Sir Sidney Smith. He attributed the failure of the attack on Acre to his taking the French battering-train, which was on board some small vessels in the harbour. Bonaparte, until this period, had never experienced any reverses, but had continually proceeded from triumph to triumph, and therefore confidently anticipated the taking of St. Jean d'Acre. In his letters to his generals in Egypt, he fixed the twenty-fifth of April for the accomplishment of that event. He reckoned that the grand assault against the tower could not be made before that day; it took place, however, twenty-four hours sooner. "The slightest circumstances," said he, "produce the greatest events; had St. Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world. The fate of the East lay in that small town."

The siege of Acre lasted sixty days, and long before it was raised, the plague entered Bonaparte's camp, and every day his legions were thinned by the pestilence. Their retreat was therefore horrible. The French historian, De Bourrienne, says, "We left at night, in order to avoid a sortie from the besieged, and to place the army, having three leagues of flat ground to traverse, beyond reach of the English gun-boats and vessels of war in the bay of Mount Carmel. The removal of the wounded and sick had commenced two days before. Thus terminated this terrible expedition. But a fearful journey was yet before us. Some of the wounded were carried in litters, and the rest on camels and mules. A devouring thirst; the total want of water; an excessive heat; a fatiguing march among scorching sand-hills, demoralized the men; a most cruel selfishness, the most unfeeling indifference, took place of every generous and humane sentiment. I have seen thrown from the litters, officers with amputated limbs, whose transport had been ordered, and who themselves had given money as a recompense for the labour. I have

beheld abandoned among the wheat-fields, soldiers who had lost their limbs, wounded and plague patients. Our march was lit up by torches, kindled for the purpose of setting fire to towns, villages, and fields. The whole country was in flames. It seemed as if we sought a solace in this extent of mischief for our own reverses and sufferings. We were surrounded only by the dying, by plunderers, and by incendiaries; wretched beings at the point of death, thrown by the wayside, continued to call with feeble voice, 'I have not the plague, I am but wounded:' and, to convince those that passed, they might be seen tearing open their real wounds, or inflicting new ones. Nobody believed them. It was the interest of all not to believe. Comrades would say, 'He is done for now; his march is over!' then pass on, and look to themselves. The sun, in all its splendour, under that beautiful sky, was obscured by the smoke of continued conflagration. We had the sea on our right; on our left, and behind us, lay the desert which we made. Before, were the sufferings and priva-



tions which awaited us. All were depressed, even the Commander-in-chief. Scarcely had we halted, when he called me, and hastily dictated an order for every one to march on foot, and that all horses,

mules and camels, should be given up for the transport of the sick and wounded. 'General,' said his equerry, 'what horse do you reserve for yourself?' 'Let every soul be on foot, scoundrel; I the first! Heard you not the order? Begone!'

This siege was fatal to General Caffarelli, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Egyptian expedition. Walking one day in the trenches, in a stooping posture, to avoid the enemy's shot, with his hand resting on his hip, to balance the defective gait caused by his wooden leg, he was struck on the elbow by an Albanian marksman, many such being placed in the walls. The talented veteran survived his wound but eighteen days. Napoleon, who was greatly attached to him, visited him twice a day; on which occasions, so great was his influence over the patient, that although delirious at other times, on the arrival of the General-in-chief he was able to talk coherently. A short time before his death, he desired to have the preface of Voltaire's "*Essai sur les Mœurs*" read to him; which being done, he tranquilly expired. He was universally regretted, as a kind and brave officer, and a man of extensive acquirements.

It was during the siege of Acre that the celebrated battle of Mount Tabor was gained, where Kleber, attacked and surrounded by twelve thousand horsemen, with as many foot, made the most heroic resistance with three thousand foot soldiers. Bonaparte, informed of the strength of the enemy, set off with a division to support Kleber. Arrived at the field of battle, he disposed his division into two squares,



so as to form an equilateral triangle with the square of Kleber, thus placing the enemy between them. The terrible fire which then pro-

ceeded from the extremities of this triangle, made the Mamelukes fall back upon themselves, and dispersed them in all directions, leaving the plain covered with the dead. This army, which the inhabitants said was as numerous as the stars of the firmament, and the sands on the sea-shore, was destroyed by six thousand French.

Shortly before raising the siege of Acre, Napoleon received despatches from Desaix, who was in Upper Egypt, engaged in chasing the indefatigable Murad Bey. Among other intelligence he was informed of the loss of a beautiful oriental vessel, constructed expressly for the navigation of the Nile, named "*L'Italie*." Morandi, the commandant, being boarded by the Arabs, made a desperate resistance, and at length, finding he should be overpowered, fired the powder magazine, and was blown with his vessel into the air. A few who survived, consisting of part of the band of the 61st demi-brigade and some wounded soldiers, were put to death, with horrible tortures, to the sound of their own instruments, which a portion of the band were compelled to play, while their comrades were despatched, when they shared a similar fate. This account greatly depressed Napoleon's mind, and excited some of those forebodings to which he was subject. "*Italy*," he exclaimed, in a prophetic tone, "*is lost to France!* My presentiments never deceive me!" To add to his uneasiness, news arrived of an insurrection in Lower Egypt, occasioned by an impostor who styled himself the angel *El-Modi*, a deliverer whom the Prophet in the Koran has promised to send to the elect in critical circumstances. He proclaimed that he was invulnerable, and that he would drive out the French like chaff before the wind. He succeeded in enlisting three or four thousand converts, most of whom were armed with pikes and shovels. The insurgents were successful in two or three skirmishes, and it was thought necessary to send General Lanusse against them, lest the whole province should become infected with the mania. The rebels were soon defeated and dispersed. About fifteen hundred of them were shot, among them the invulnerable angel, and tranquillity was once more restored.

On the 24th of May the army arrived at Jaffa, where it halted five days. On the 27th the fortifications were blown up; and, soon afterwards, a consultation took place which has been the subject of strong accusations against the General-in-chief. There were at the time in the camp-hospital several patients ill of the plague, who could not be removed without accelerating their death, and probably spreading the pestilence among all who approached them. Napoleon remarked to Desgenettes, the army physician, that there would be more humanity in administering opium to them, and thus ending their troubles, than in leaving them behind to fall into the hands of the Turks, who would be certain to inflict cruel tortures on the unfortunate men. Desgenettes, however, was averse to the proposal,

saying, "It is the business of a physician to cure, and not to kill;" and, although Larrey, another physician, approved of the suggestion, Napoleon instantly abandoned the design. When the army left Jaffa,



therefore, a rear-guard of four or five hundred cavalry was left to protect them, with directions to rejoin the army on the death of the last survivor. The number thus left Napoleon stated to be seven; and Sir Sidney Smith, who entered the town a short time after the French abandoned the place, found "seven" men alive in the hospital. It is quite certain, therefore, that the poisoning did not take place, although the calumny has been propagated by many historians. It must be admitted, however, that the proposition was made, as Napoleon himself acknowledged it at St. Helena, and at the same time justified it. "You have been amongst the 'Turks,'" he said to Mr. O'Meara, "and know what they are; place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and suppose you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures inflicted by those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you?" Mr. O'Meara replied, "most undoubtedly I would prefer the latter." "Certainly, so would any man," answered Napoleon; "if my own son (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done: and

if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough, and sufficient strength to demand it. But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime), or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel? No, no: I never should have done so a second time! Many would have shot me while passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull the trigger, would have despatched me."

The march from Jaffa was one continued scene of misery. One of the witnesses of the lengthened scene of horrors gives us the following harrowing recital:—"Our sick and wounded were transported in small vessels to Jaffa, and from thence to Damietta. There were still in the cabins upon the shore some poor wretches who were waiting to be removed. Among them, a soldier was seized with the plague; and in the delirium, which sometimes accompanies the agony, he conjectured, without doubt, upon viewing the army march at beat of drum, that he was to be abandoned; his imagination led him to perceive the extent of his misery if he fell into the hands of the Arabs. One may suppose that it was this fear which put him in so great an agitation, and suggested the idea of following the troops. He took his knapsack, upon which his head was resting, and placing it upon his shoulders, made an effort to rise. The venom of the dreadful malady, that circulated in his veins, deprived him of strength, and after three steps he again fell upon the sand, headlong. The fall increased his terror; and, after having lain some moments, looking with a wild glance at the tail of the columns which were on the march, he rose a second time, but with no better success: in his third effort he sunk, and, stretched near the sea, remained upon that spot which fate had destined to become his grave. The sight of this soldier was frightful: the disorder that reigned in his senseless speech, his figure, which presented everything that is mournful,—his eyes staring and fixed,—clothes in rags, portrayed all that is most hideous in death. The reader may, perhaps, believe that his comrades must have been concerned for him; that they stopped to help him; that they hastened to support his tottering footsteps. Far from this: the poor wretch was only an object of horror and derision. They ran from him as from the disease which he was enduring, and they burst into loud laughter at his motions resembling those of a drunken man. 'He has got his account!' cried one. 'He will

not march far!" said another. And when the wretch fell for the last time, some of them added, 'See, he has taken up his quarters!' This terrible truth, which I cannot help repeating, must be acknowledged:—indifference and selfishness are the predominant feelings throughout an army."

After a painful march of twenty-five days, on the 14th of June the army arrived at Cairo. Both Upper and Lower Egypt were now quite tranquil, the former province having been completely conquered by Desaix, who had acquired among the natives the title of "the Just Sultan." Murad had been compelled to fly for safety to the Desert. Towards the end of July, however, rumours of new movements on the part of the Mamelukes became current. Elphi and Osman marched with a body of troops on the right bank of the Nile, while Murad Bey moved on the left. General La Grange was despatched against Osman Bey, who, on the night of July 9th, was surprised in his camp, and killed, with about a hundred of his followers, the rest being dispersed; a quantity of baggage and a thousand camels falling into the hands of the French. Murat was sent against Murad Bey, who had reached Gizeh, on his way to Aboukir, where the landing of a large Turkish army was expected. The encounter between "the two Murats," as the French soldiers called them, was brief. The Mameluke was discomfited, and once more retreated to the Desert.

On the 11th of July a great number of transports, escorted by a squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, appeared in sight of Alexandria. They had on board a Turkish army, commanded by Mustapha Pacha, numbering about eighteen thousand men. The point selected for landing was the bay of Aboukir; and this was accomplished with great boldness and success. Napoleon had ordered Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, to destroy the village of Aboukir, and complete the defences of the fort; but instead of doing so, he had merely encircled the place with a redoubt on the land side, and had preserved the village as quarters for the soldiers. The Turks attacked the entrenchments sabre in hand, carried the village, and afterwards the fort, and put the garrison to the sword. As soon as Napoleon received information of these particulars, he quitted Cairo with the divisions of Lannes, Bon, and Murat, and, after a march of unexampled speed, reached Alexandria on the 24th. Mustapha had taken up a strong position at Aboukir, and had been reinforced by the arrival of the indefatigable Murad Bey, with a squadron of cavalry. On the morning of the 25th Lannes was ordered to attack the enemy's left, and Destaing the right; Murat, with his cavalry and a light battery, remaining in reserve. The French skirmishers were at first repulsed; upon which Mustapha called out to Murad Bey, who was near him, "So! these are the terrible French whom you dare not encounter. See how they fly before me!" "Pacha,"

replied the indignant Murad, "render thanks to the Prophet it has pleased them to retire. If they return, you will disappear before them, like dust before the wind." Murat now advanced, and, speedily penetrating the enemy's centre, cut off the communication between their first and second lines. The Turks immediately fell into confusion, and rushed tumultuously to the rear, the right being driven towards the sea, and the left towards Lake Maadieh. The columns of Lannes and Destaing now impetuously attacked the main body. About ten thousand Turks, unable to escape, being pursued by cavalry and infantry, and fired upon by artillery, threw themselves into the sea, where they perished, almost to a man. The sea, during this scene of slaughter, appeared covered with floating turbans.



Lannes was now ordered to draw up his men in columns, to proceed along the lake, and attack the village of Aboukir, and Murat was directed to follow with his cavalry, and support the movement. The village was soon forced, and a lodgment made; but Mustapha Pacha, who was in a redoubt behind it, made a hasty sortie, and cut off the French right from the left. Napoleon, as soon as he perceived this movement, directed the cavalry to make a detour and get into the rear of the Turks, and thus cut off their retreat. The engagement soon became a massacre. The Pacha, with his staff, and two or three thousand men, endeavoured to establish themselves in the village, but were surrounded. and, after a brave resistance, all made prisoners. The rest of the Mahometan army was entirely destroyed. Immediately after this battle, Napoleon sent an envoy to the English admiral, respecting the wounded prisoners, when some

courtesies, and a few presents, were exchanged. Among other things a file of English newspapers, and a Frankfort Gazette of the 28th of June, 1799, were sent on shore, and were eagerly seized by Napoleon, who passed a whole night reading their contents. From these journals he obtained intelligence of the reverses of the French armies in Europe, and learned that France was a prey to faction and intestine discords. "My presentiment has not deceived me," he exclaimed, "Italy is lost. All the fruits of our victories have disappeared. France is endangered through these fine talkers, these babblers. I must begone."



His determination was formed from that moment. He confided it to Berthier, and to Admiral Gantheaume, who was charged to

prepare two frigates, the "Muiron" and the "Carrère," besides two small vessels, the "Revenge" and the "Fortune," to convey the General and his suite to France. It was necessary to leave the command of the army in worthy hands. Bonaparte had but to choose between Desaix and Kleber; but being desirous of taking the first with him, he decided upon appointing the latter for his successor, although there did not exist any very good understanding between them. In 1798, Bonaparte had written to Kleber: "I attach the greatest value to your esteem, and friendship. I am afraid of our becoming in any way opposed to each other; and you would be unjust if you doubted the pain it would give me. In Egypt, the clouds, when there are any, pass away in six hours; with me, if any arose, they would have vanished in three." All this evinces the fear of a rupture, rather than mutual sympathy. The two warriors might, and perhaps did esteem each other; but it is evident there was little love between them.



The more effectually to conceal his intentions, Napoleon countenanced a report that an expedition into Upper Egypt was intended; and he went on an excursion to the Delta, for the purpose, as was alleged, of obtaining information respecting the country and people. At length, on the 22nd of August, he received intelligence from

Gantheaume that the vessels were ready to sail, when he announced to the Guides and the officers of the escort that they were about to depart for France. The news was received with acclamations; and preparations were immediately made for embarking. Napoleon wrote to Kleber imparting his intentions, and transmitting the charge which he conferred upon him. Among the instructions which he gave, we find the following: "The Christians will always be friendly towards us; you must prevent their being too insolent, lest the Turks should take the same dislike to us as to the resident Christians, which would render them our irreconcilable foes."

Was the return of Bonaparte wished for and solicited by the Directory, who had seen the warrior depart with an inward satisfaction of which he was not ignorant? A letter has been quoted, signed by Treilhard, Lareveillère, Lépaux, and Barras, according to which Bonaparte had privately resolved upon quitting Egypt. It is most probable that, disappointed by the ill-success of his campaign in Syria, and informed of the state of things and of the public mind in France, he believed that the moment had arrived for him to disclose his ambitious views, and to turn towards the West.

"The news from Europe," said he, in a proclamation dated from Alexandria, "has determined me to depart for France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber, who will soon hear from me. It gives me the greatest pain to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it will be for a time only; and the general I leave has my entire confidence, as well as that of the government."

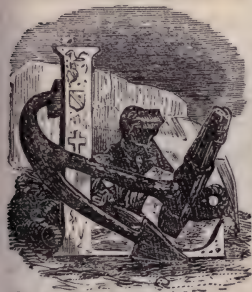
Bonaparte set sail at the end of August, taking with him Berthier, Marmont, Murat, Lannes, Andreossy, Monge, Berthollet, etc. The embarkation took place by starlight; and the vessels would have sailed immediately, but that an English corvette was seen approaching to reconnoitre. At daybreak on the following morning, all sail was crowded, in order to escape the enemy's cruisers, and to get out of sight of the fleet anchored off Aboukir.





CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGE.—ARRIVAL AT FREJUS.—STATE OF FRANCE.—18TH BRUMAIRE. 1799.



LOOKING anxiously, from time to time, at the receding topmasts of the British and Turkish vessels at anchor in the bay, Napoleon ordered Gantheaume to steer as close as possible to the coast of Africa, till he should be opposite Sardinia. "Should we encounter the English," he said, "I will run ashore upon the sands, march with the few brave fellows and the artillery we have with us to Oran or Tunis, and there find means to re-embark." For the first twenty days the vessels made little way, as the wind was constantly adverse, and they were several times driven back towards the coast they had left. It was even proposed to put back to the port whence they had sailed, but Napoleon peremptorily refused. "We shall arrive safely," he confidently exclaimed; "Fortune will not abandon us." The English were frequently seen, and fears were entertained of falling into their hands. The General alone, walking the deck with a tranquil air, seemed indifferent to the dangers that threatened them. During this state of suspense he occupied himself in conversing with the Savans, and in reading the Bible, the Koran, and Homer, and playing at "vingt-et-un" with the officers of his staff.

The first three weeks the ships only made a hundred leagues; but at the end of that time a favourable breeze arose, and they were enabled to pass Sardinia. On the first of October a violent west wind compelled them to take refuge in the harbour of Ajaccio. The entire population of the island turned out to welcome him, and he was overwhelmed with visits and solicitations. While here he received intelligence of the loss of the battle of Novi, and of the death of

Joubert, and he became impatient to re-embark. On the 7th of October the voyage was resumed ; and, after narrowly escaping the English cruisers, the French vessels entered the bay of Frejus. When it became known on shore that General Bonaparte was on board one of the frigates, in spite of the laws of quarantine, which forbade all communication with the land, the sea was covered with boats containing persons of all classes to welcome the conqueror of Italy. He was almost forced on shore by the authorities of the town, who refused to regard the quarantine regulations, and, on landing,



he was met by crowds of people, who hailed him as their deliverer, exclaiming, with exulting shouts, " We prefer the plague to the Austrians !" The news soon spread all over France, and everywhere the tidings was received with the utmost joy. On the evening of his landing he set out for Paris, accompanied by Berthier, and alighted, on the 16th October, at his house in the " Rue de la Victoire," having missed, during his journey, his wife and brother Joseph, who had posted off to meet him.

During the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, the state of affairs in France had considerably changed. Austria, gathering courage after the departure of the General who had so often defeated her armies, suddenly ordered the French plenipotentiaries to quit Rastadt, where negotiations had been carried on ; and a few hours afterwards, while proceeding on their homeward journey, the dismissed envoys were murdered, it was said by ruffians wearing the Austrian uniform. An alliance was entered into between Austria and Russia : and immense armies were collected by these powers for carrying on a fierce war against their hitherto successful adversary. The allied forces entered Italy, under the orders of Suwarrow, a cruel barbarian, but who was distinguished by great military skill and enthusiasm, which attracted

for a time the admiration of Europe. After a rapid series of battles, ending with that of Novi, the French were dispossessed of all the states which had been conquered by Bonaparte, and preparations were made for carrying the war into the territories of the Republic. The Archduke Charles compelled Jourdan to recross the Rhine; while a third body of Austro-Russians advanced to the frontiers of Switzerland, ready to take possession of that country, and thence find a passage into the heart of France. To increase the difficulties of the French government, the Chouans, or Royalist bands of Britany, were again preparing to light the flames of civil warfare throughout the country.

Many weighty motives existed for effecting a change at this critical period, which might have operated upon the mind of Bonaparte, or any other chief who had the good of his country at heart. He found its government enfeebled to the utmost impotence of childhood, the prey of perpetual caprice and revolutions. He found it without an army, and without the resources for procuring one. He found all public spirit evaporated, and the people in a state of civil war with each other. But, what was most wounding to the becoming pride of a warrior, he found all the conquests he had gained in Europe nearly wrested from his country, and subject to the severe requisitions of those armies he had discomfited.

The Directory at this time consisted of Barras, the only old member; Roger Ducos, a man of easy disposition and narrow mind; Moulins, a general of division, a worthy and patriotic man; Gohier, an eminent lawyer; and Sieyes, a metaphysician, who had formerly been a priest. He was the author of several constitutions, and of a celebrated pamphlet, entitled, "What is the Third Estate?" The majority of the Directory, comprising Barras, Gohier, and Moulins, wished to retain the constitution of the year III.—Barras, because he found in it the means of increasing his own power; Gohier and Moulins, because they sincerely believed in the possibility of maintaining the Republican government under its existing form. Sieyes, on the contrary, who had always inwardly cherished a monarchical predisposition, and scornful repugnance to popular institutions, impatiently awaited an opportunity of indulging his secret inclination. He was even accused of having sought to betray the Republic, for the advantage of a prince of the house of Brunswick, even as Barras was suspected of having, in despair for the success of his cause, and wearied by so many vicissitudes, made overtures to the house of Bourbon. Sieyes, therefore, was already certain of becoming a partizan of whoever should dare to attempt any innovation against the democratic institutions; and Roger Ducos, his colleague, never ventured to think or act without him. Nevertheless, at first Bonaparte refused to recognize his future associate; he even affected to regard him with the most insulting disdain, at a dinner

to which Gohier invited him, the day after the first interview of the General with the Directory, and at which the greatest reserve and respectful coldness presided. It was after this dinner that Sieyes said good-humouredly: "See how this saucy little fellow treats a member of an authority, which ought to have had him shot."

But this coolness between the metaphysician and the warrior soon yielded to the mutual desire of changing the political order established in France. Some one happening to say before Bonaparte: "Seek for a support among the persons who treat the friends of France as Jacobins, and be certain of finding Sieyes at their head," the General felt his repugnance diminish, or at least he thought fit to dissimulate, in order to gain the concurrence of the man whom he had at first so scornfully received, and with whom he could not cordially act. The Directory, to rid themselves of his dangerous vicinity, wished to exile Bonaparte to the command of whichever army he choose. But this offer, brilliant as it would have been for any other general, was not sufficient to tempt the future sovereign of France. "I do not wish to refuse," he said, "but I have asked for time to re-establish my health; and that I may not be subjected to other embarrassing offers, I have retired. I shall not return to their sittings: and I have decided for the party of Sieyes; his opinions are of far greater weight than those of the debauched Barras." The combinations which led to the events of the 18th Brumaire (9th October), were chiefly woven by Lucien Bonaparte in the councils, aided by Sieyes, Talleyrand, Fouché, Real, Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, and some others. Fouché, in particular, evinced his impatience to destroy the Republican system, though he had formerly been an active participator in its greatest cruelties. He said to the secretary of Bonaparte: "Your General must make haste; if he delays, he is lost!"

Cambacérès and Lebrun were slower in deciding. The part of a conspirator did not agree with the circumspection of the one, nor with the moderation of the other. Bonaparte, informed of their hesitation, exclaimed, as if the destinies of France were already at his disposal: "I will have no subterfuge; they must not imagine I am in want of them. Let them decide to-day; it will be too late to-morrow, for I now feel myself strong enough to stand alone."

Nearly all the generals of note then at Paris entered into the views of Bonaparte—even Moreau placed himself at his disposal. But the illustrious conspirator failed in acquiring the support of those of his companions in arms whose opposition, talents, and character he most feared. Bernadotte persisted in defending the Republic, and the constitution of the year III. Joseph Bonaparte, however, led him, on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, to his brother. All the general officers were there in uniform; Bernadotte had come in plain clothes. Bonaparte, displeased at this, loudly expressed his surprise,

and dragged him apart, where he explained to him all his projects with the greatest frankness. "Your Directory is detested," he said to him, "your constitution worn out; it is requisite to make a clear house, and give another direction to the government. Go and put on your uniform, I cannot wait for you longer; but you will find me at the Tuileries in the midst of our comrades. Do not rely upon Moreau, nor upon Bournonville. When you are better acquainted with those men, you will see that they promise much, and do little. Do not trust them." Bernadotte replied that he would not take part in a rebellion; and Bonaparte then exacted from him a promise of perfect neutrality, which he could with difficulty obtain. "I shall remain quiet as a citizen," replied the austere Republican, who afterwards allowed himself to be made a king; "but if I receive orders



from the Directory to act, I shall march against the rioters." At these words Bonaparte, instead of giving way to his character, compelled himself to master his irritation, to prevent, if possible, by promises and flattery, the hostile intervention of a man of spirit and courage, who might be able to put an end to the conspiracy.

While all this was passing in a small house in the "Rue de la Victoire," where the conqueror of Arcola and of the Pyramids dwelt, the Council of the Elders sent to him in a message the following decree:—

"ART. 1. The legislative body is transferred to Saint Cloud.

"ART. 2. The Councils will repair thither to-morrow at noon

"ART. 3. General Bonaparte is charged with the execution of the present decree. He will take all the necessary measures for the safety of the national representation. The general commanding the 17th military division, the legislative body-guards, the national guards,

the troops of the line, who may be in Paris or within its jurisdiction, and in the whole extent of the 17th military division, are put completely under his orders, etc.

“ART. 4. General Bonaparte is called to the bosom of the Council, to receive there a dispatch of the present decree, and to take the oath. He will concert measures with the commissariat inspectors of the two Councils.”

This decree was made at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight, the state messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at the house of Napoleon. He found the avenues filled with the officers of the garrison, adjutants of the National Guard, generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the compliments of the officers, harangued them, and told them that he relied upon them all for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand, that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse to ride to the Tuileries.

Enthusiasm being wound up, all the officers drew their swords, and promised their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him, or return to the Directory. Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, and fifteen hundred horse, whom he halted upon the Boulevard, at the corner of the street of Mont Blanc. He gave orders to the Adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters and beat the “*generale*,” to communicate the decree they had just heard, and to announce, that no orders were to be observed, but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this brilliant escort. “You are the wisdom of the nation,” said he; “at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefevre my Lieutenant; I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have entrusted me: let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment.”

All the troops were mustered at the Tuileries; Napoleon reviewed them, amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops entrusted with the protection of

the Legislative Body to General Lannes ; and to General Murat the command of those sent to St. Cloud.

He deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg ; and for this purpose, he placed under his orders five hundred men of the 86th regiment. But, at the moment of setting off, these troops refused to obey ; they had no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they said, a patriot. Napoleon was obliged to harangue them, assuring them that Moreau would act uprightly. Moreau had been suspected through his conduct at a former period.

The intelligence that Napoleon was at the Tuileries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread through the capital : the people flew to the Tuileries in crowds ; some led by mere curiosity to behold so renowned a General, others by patriotic enthusiasm to offer him their support.



Napoleon now sent an aide-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse, the commanding-officer consulted his soldiers : they answered by shouts of joy. At this very moment, an order from the Directory, contrary to that of Napoleon, arrived ; but the soldiers, obeying only Napoleon's commands, marched to join him. Sieyès and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Tuileries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Sieyès mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian ; he little suspected

where they were going. Being shortly after apprized of the decree, he joined Gohier and Moulins: they then learned that the troops followed Napoleon; they saw that even their own guard forsook them! Upon that Moulins went to the Tuileries, and gave in his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, the secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, who warmly expressed his indignation at the peculations which had ruined the Republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Boutot gave him Barras's resignation, and asked him in a low voice, what hope he might entertain for him. "Tell that man," replied Bonaparte, "that I will not see him again, and that I am well enabled to command due respect to the authority entrusted to me." Then raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the antechamber, he continued thus to address Boutot, the astonished secretary to Barras: "What have you done," said he, "with the country I left so flourishing? I left you in peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism; but we will have a Republic founded on the basis of civil liberty, equality, and political toleration."

Talleyrand then hastened to the ex-director, and related this. Barras removed to Gros Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons. From that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone was invested with the executive power of the Republic.

In the mean time, the Council of Five Hundred had met, under the presidency of Lucien. The constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege; there was no ground for objection. The Members of the Council, in passing through the streets of Paris, and through the Tuileries, had learnt the occurrences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them. They submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sittings to the next day, the 19th, at St. Cloud. At length, after nearly two days' delay, they met and opened their sittings. The Assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no Deputy durst refuse to swear to the constitution: even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts and cries of "bravo!" were heard throughout the Chamber. The moment was critical. Many members, on taking the oath, added observations. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid deserted their post. Not an instant was to be lost.

Napoleon crossed the saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself opposite to the President, at the bar. "You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the Republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved: factions are at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades to the support of your wisdom; but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of, as if this day could be compared with past times. No: I desire nothing but the safety of the Republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the door of this hall—speak! Have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word when in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the Republic?"

The grenadiers were electrified; and waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true; he always kept his word!" Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear then with us, obedience to the Constitution of the year III, which alone can save the Republic."

The astonishment caused by these words produced a profound silence. Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then went on again emphatically: "The Constitution of the year III!—You have it no longer; you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the Legislative Body; you violated it on the thirteenth of Prairial, in the year VII, when the Legislative Body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the twenty-second of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the Legislative Body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the General, brought over three-fourths of the members of the council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect. A member rose in opposition; he denounced the General, as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the secret of every party, and that all despised the constitution of the year III; that the only difference existing between them was that some desired to have a moderate republic, in which all the national interests, and all the property should be guaranteed; while, on the other hand, the others wished for a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country.

At this moment Napoleon was informed that the "appel nominal" was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president Lucien to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened with



Sieyes, Ducos, and several officers, to the Council. He entered the Chamber with his hat off, ordering the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the Chamber, because the president had his seat on one of the wings. As Napoleon advanced, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the orders of the General, had remained at the door, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them, they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join their General, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced Napoleon out of the Chamber. In the confusion, one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded

by the thrust of a dagger; and the clothes of another were cut through.

The General descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, and harangued them: "I was about," said



he, "to point out to them the means of saving the Republic, and restoring our glory; they answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the Chamber of the Five Hundred, and to liberate the president. Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches," exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws, my brother, the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy; I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard." Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the Chamber, exclaiming, "Vive la Republique!" It

was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the Councils. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order:" the grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these exclamations the triumph of the members was converted into a gloomy silence, which testified the dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the Chamber, rushed into the court yard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you soldiers—the President of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you, that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved." "President," replied the General, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the Chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the Council to disperse; shouts and vociferations followed. Colonel Moulins, aide-de-camp of Brune, who had just



arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The order was given, and the troops marched forward to execute it. The Chamber of the Council was still the seat of uproar, confusion and

anarchy. A thousand motions had succeeded each other, every one struggling to gain precedency for his opinion, and the assembly was in its wildest state, when the sound of the "pas de charge," was heard. The noise of the drum soon suspended that of the debate, and the surprised orators eagerly darted their looks towards the place from whence the unwelcome sounds proceeded. The soldiers appeared, preceded by officers, one of whom invited the Deputies to clear the hall. Invectives and remonstrances were poured out with all the volubility of utterance, but these weapons had lost all their edge. The soldiers were deaf to every thing but the orders they had received. The Deputies leaped out of the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.; in one moment the Chamber was empty. Those members of the Council, who had shewn the most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

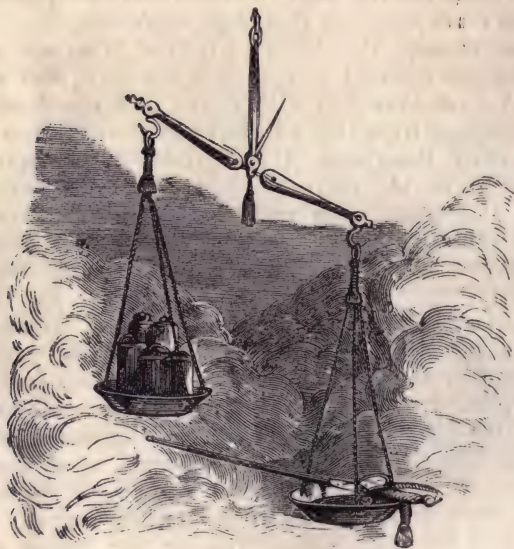
The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehensions, but no sooner were the Parisians in possession of the whole, and its probable results, than they were overjoyed. The overthrow of the Directory appeared to them as tantamount to the subversion of jacobinism and anarchy. They now cherished the hope of a new and better government, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The Council of Ancients, animated by the same desires, issued a decree that a temporary executive commission of three members should be appointed.

On the same evening the Council of Five Hundred and that of the Ancients again assembled in their Chambers; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of the demagogues and assassins. The president then proposed a resolution to the effect, "that General Bonaparte, the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country."

This, carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chasal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government; on which the President, mounting a tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government; and enlarged upon the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong legislative power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The Council then decreed, that the Executive Directory no longer existed: that certain Deputies, to the number of sixty-one, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer Members of the National Representation; that an Executive Consular Committee

should be provisionally appointed, consisting of Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of Consuls of the French Republic; that they should be invested with the powers of the Directory; that the two Councils should each name twenty-five Commissioners charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was to consolidate and guarantee inviolate, the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the Council of Ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three Consuls being summoned to the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated in all the departments of the republic without delay. Thus terminated this military revolution without bloodshed. Bonaparte and the army were the founders of the new government; and the power obtained by the sword, the sword alone could destroy.





CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULAR GOVERNMENT.—LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—EMBASSY TO PRUSSIA.—THE EMPEROR PAUL. 1799.



SOON as were the complaints of the Jacobins against what they called the usurpation of Napoleon, the great body of the nation did not fail to regard the change of government as a blessing. The majority of the upper and middling classes, and the industrious of all ranks,—those who attached the highest value to the prosperity of France, to her domestic pacification and external security, in a word, the whole nation, with the

exception of some few indomitable spirits, hastened to absolve Bonaparte from all blame in the affair of St. Cloud, which was henceforth universally considered and received as a justifiable event.

Napoleon said at St. Helena: "It has been metaphysically discussed, and will often be discussed again, whether we violated the laws—if we were criminal or not; but these are mere abstractions, fitted only for books and tribunals, and which ought to give way to imperious necessity; one might as well accuse the sailor of wilful destruction, who cuts away his masts to save the vessel from foundering. The fact is, without us the country had been lost, and we saved it. Therefore, the projectors, the great actors in this memorable event, instead of denials and justifications, ought, after the example of the Roman, to be satisfied with replying proudly to their accusers: 'We affirm that we have saved our country; come with us, and return thanks to the gods.'"

There can be no doubt that Napoleon, at this time, possessed the complete confidence of the nation. He had rendered great services to his country; did not belong to any faction; had not made use of

his position and influence to secure his own wealth and aggrandizement; had skilfully avoided displaying the ambition which really actuated him; was at all times modest and conciliating in his deportment; and always anxious to promote the interests and advance the fortunes of those in the public service who distinguished themselves by talent and integrity. On him, therefore, the hopes of the nation centred. His colleagues in the consulate were men of little weight, and were distrusted in consequence of having formed part of the late despised Directory.



At the first sitting of the consular-commission at the Luxembourg, on the morning of the 11th of November, Napoleon, on entering the council-chamber, seated himself in the only armed-chair at the table. Sieyes, who flattered himself that he should obtain by his age and his political antecedents some mark of deference on the part of his young colleague, of whom he was somewhat jealous, immediately asked: "Which of us shall preside?" This was in a

manner forcing his colleagues to yield him that honour. But, on this occasion, the importance of the question overcame courtesy, and Roger Ducos promptly responded: "Do you not see that the General presides already?"



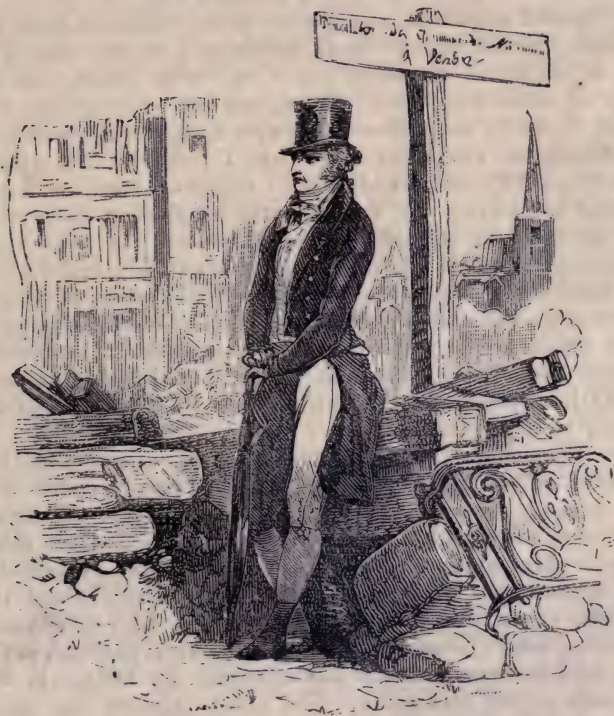
Sieyes, hemmed in as he was with metaphysics, could not conceive that a young man just issued from the camp, and whose whole existence seemed to have been absorbed in study and military labours, would be able to contest the care and glory of imagining fresh governmental combinations, with a veteran legislator, of whom it was truly said, that he always had a constitution in his pocket. He therefore boldly presented the fruit of his daily meditations; and when, in accordance therewith, he came to propose a Grand Elector, who was to reside at Versailles, with an income of six million francs, and no other function but that of naming two consuls, subject to the approval of the senate, who were to have the power of annulling the election, and even of deposing the Grand Elector, Bonaparte began to laugh, and to cut down, according to his own expression, the metaphysical fooleries of his colleague. Sieyes, who was as timid as vain, when he met with any serious resistance, defended himself badly. He was anxious to justify his conception by an analogy with royalty. "But," replied the General, "you take the abuse for the principle, the shadow for the substance. And how could you possibly imagine, M. Sieyes, that a man of any talent, and of the least honour, would readily resign himself to act the part of a pig fattening on a few million francs? I would never consent to be your Grand Elector," he added significantly.

Napoleon was anxious to conciliate the old man, for he knew that his opposition might prove formidable, and he soon found means to

propitiate him. Sieyes loved money. "He had," says De Bourrienne, "'give me money' written in his face. For this idol he would sacrifice every other consideration; even his favourite notion of a perfect constitution might be kept in abeyance for a round sum." This quality was developed at the first sitting of the Consuls. As soon as the question of the presidency was settled, Sieyes drew the attention of Napoleon to a cabinet in the apartment, and informed him, in a mysterious manner, that it contained eight hundred thousand francs (upwards of thirty-three thousand pounds). "The Directory," he said, "contemplating the possibility of the retiring members being penniless on returning to their families, created a fund as a resource against this calamity. Every Director, on the expiration of his term of office, was entitled to draw a certain sum therefrom. The Directory being abolished, we are clearly entitled to dispose of the remainder." "If it comes to my knowledge," replied Napoleon, laughing, "the sum shall go to the public treasury; but, as I know nothing about it at present, you and Ducos, being old Directors, may divide it between you. Make haste, or to-morrow may be too late." Sieyes took the hint, and himself undertook the division, which he performed in much the same manner as the lion in the fable. Having made four lots, he took one as being oldest Director; a second because he was to have continued in office longer than his colleague; and a third because he had suggested the happy change which had placed the money in their hands. Ducos, as was natural, murmured at receiving so small a share of the plunder, and appealed to Napoleon for his decision on the subject; but the General positively refused to interfere, adding that if the matter came to his ears officially, he should compel them to refund the whole. It is scarcely credible that while this was passing, the whole disposable sum in the public treasury was twelve hundred francs.

The first operation of the new government was the formation of an efficient ministry. Most of the offices were found in the possession of men utterly ignorant of their duties, and anxious only to realise as much money as possible for themselves. Dubois de Crancé, when called upon to furnish a report of the state of the army, was unable to do so. Many corps had been formed in the provinces, of which the existence was unknown to the minister. When asked for an account of the pay. "We don't pay the army," was the reply. "Furnish, then, the returns of the Victualling office." "That is not in our department." "Well, the clothing?" "We do not clothe the troops." The pay, it appeared, was obtained by anticipating the treasury; and clothing and subsistence by means of forced loans. Berthier, who was chief of Napoleon's staff, and had been trained by him to habits of regularity and economy, superseded De Crancé, and immediately applied himself to his duties. Gaudin was appointed minister of Finance. He found the treasury empty,

the government without credit, the revenues anticipated, and the rate of interest fixed at six per cent. His first act was to put an end to the compulsory loans, which operated injuriously on every description of property. Cambacérès retained the Administration of Justice, Reinhard the ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Fouché the Police. The great geometrician La Place was appointed Minister of the Interior, but was found unqualified for the office. His philosophic mind, formed to comprehend the laws of the universe, could not stoop to the labours of detail. To Monge was assigned the organization of the Polytechnic school, then in its infancy, but which has since become world-renowned.



The first measures of the consulate could only be reparations. The law of hostages, in addition to that of forced loans was revoked. Toleration replaced persecution; philosophy, supported by power, permitted believers to recal their priests, and rebuild their altars. Emigrants and proscribed persons of all opinions, and of all periods—Carnot, La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, Bureau de Pusey, and others, returned

to France. Their property, which had not been sold, was restored, and they were admitted to the Institute and the ministry. Sieyès was greatly alarmed at these acts. He was apprehensive that the emigrant Royalists would return in crowds, and massacre the Republicans. He was so much affected by the terror of secret plots and assassination, that he on one occasion awoke Napoleon at three o'clock in the morning, to inform him of some vague conspiracy which had just been discovered. "Have they corrupted our guard?" asked Napoleon. "No," answered Sieyès. "Then go to bed and let them alone," said the General: "in war, as in love, we must come to close quarters to make an end of it. It will be time enough to be alarmed when our six hundred men are attacked."

The proposed constitution of Sieyès having been set aside, another form of government was at length determined upon—that of a First Consul, in whom the sovereign power was to be rested, with the sole privilege of nominating to all offices, and two subordinate Consuls, who were to be his councillors, but were to have deliberative voices only. Napoleon was appointed First Consul for ten years; the office of Second Consul, which was to continue also for ten years, was offered to Sieyès; but, disappointed at finding his system rejected, he declined the office, and expressed his wish to retire. Cambacérès, therefore, was nominated in his stead; and Lebrun was chosen Third Consul, to continue in office for five years. Sieyès, in consideration of his many public services, had the valuable estate of Crosne voted to him, together with the dignity of senator. The Constitution of the year VIII. was published on the 13th, and came into operation on the 24th of December, at which period Napoleon's reign may be said really to have commenced.

At the commencement of his supreme magistracy, and whilst he still resided at the Luxembourg, Bonaparte preserved all the simplicity of taste, manners, and style, to which his natural disposition inclined him, and which his residence in camps had anything but weakened. He boasted the greatest sobriety, but, nevertheless, he already foresaw that he would become a great eater, and that his meagreness would forsake him, and give place to corpulence. The warm baths, which he very frequently used, were, perhaps, not wholly uninfluential in regard to this last change. As for sleep, he took seven hours of the twenty-four: and always desired that he might not be awakened, at least if there were no bad news stirring: "For," said he, "there is no hurry with good news, whilst with bad, there is not a moment to lose."

Despite the somewhat plebeian life which he led in his consular palace, he received daily all the distinguished characters of the time; and Josephine did the honours of the drawing-room with the grace and urbanity of a lady of the old French school. It was there that the terms of politeness and civility, which Republican rigour had

latterly banished from conversation, made their reappearance, in spite of the penalties attached to them, and that 'Sir' endeavoured again to put itself in vogue at the expense of 'Citizen.' The First Consul, usually absorbed in his meditations and reveries, seldom took part in the witty conversations and agreeable pastimes of the brilliant circle which began to surround him. Sometimes he happened to be in a good humour, and he then proved, by the charm, the abundance, and even vivacity of his conversation, that he could be the most amiable of men if he chose. But he did not always choose to be so, and the ladies, especially, had reason to complain of his ill-will.

Stern in appearance, and easily giving way to his passions, Bonaparte hid under this species of external savageness a soul accessible to the most affectionate tenderness, and the softest emotions. Although sombre and morose, sharp and violent, severe and inexorable when burthened with his political occupations, or appearing on the stage as a public man; still he displayed gentleness, familiarity, extreme tenderness and good-fellowship, in the intimate relations of private life. In support of that which we here advance of the goodness of heart and the domestic affections of Napoleon, we cannot do better than quote part of a letter which he wrote in the year III, to his brother Joseph: "In whatever position fortune may place thee, thou well knowest, my brother, thou canst have no better friend, to whom thou canst be more dear, or who more sincerely desires thy welfare. . . . Life is but a clouded dream, which soon vanishes. If thou goest, and thinkest it may be for any time!!! send me thy portrait. We have lived so many years together, so closely united, that our hearts are as one; and thou knowest better than any one, how entirely mine is devoted to thee. In tracing these lines I feel an emotion which has not often possessed me; something tells me we shall not see each other for some time, and—I cannot go on with my letter. . . ."

The formation of the new government gave the First Consul an opportunity of making many desirable changes in the provisional ministry. Practical men, of whatever party, were employed without scruple: capacity and willingness to take office were all the recommendations required. M. D'Abrial, a peer of France, was appointed Minister of Justice, in place of Cambacérès. "I know you not, Citizen D'Abrial," said Napoleon, on handing him his official portfolio; "but I am informed that you are the most upright man in the magistracy; and you are named on that account. Talleyrand superseded Reinhard as Foreign Minister; Carnot, although an inflexible Republican, accepted the administration of the war department; and Fouché was appointed Minister of Police. The latter had rendered himself infamous by his notorious peculations, falsehood, and profligacy; but he alone had a perfect knowledge of the factions and intrigues which had been spreading misery throughout France.

The object of this amalgamation of parties and suppression of political distinctions is not difficult to be understood. All things were tending to the consolidation of a new and superior power, having no sympathy for the opinions or systems supplanted. A day or two after receiving his appointment, Talleyrand, during an interview with Napoleon, made use of these remarkable expressions:—"Citizen Consul," said he, "you have entrusted to me the management of foreign affairs, and I will justify your confidence; but I think it my duty to declare that, from this moment, I will only labour in concert with yourself. In this there is no vain pride exhibited on my part; I speak for the good of France alone. In order that she may be well governed, and that there may be unity of action, it is requisite that you should be First Consul, and that the First Consul should govern everything which relates immediately to politics: that is to say, the ministership for foreign affairs, and lastly, the two great organs of execution, the army and navy. It will therefore be necessary that the ministers of these five departments should act with you alone. The administration of justice and good order in the finances is doubtless also connected with politics, but not so closely. If I might venture to advise, General, I should suggest that it would be better to give the Second Consul, who is well versed in the law, the superintendence of judicial affairs; and to the Third Consul, who is equally well acquainted with finance, the superintendence of the revenue. This will occupy and amuse them; and you, General, having at your disposal all the vital portions of the government, will arrive at the noble aim which you propose to yourself, of the re-generation of France."

"Do you know, Talleyrand is an excellent counsellor?" said Bonaparte to his secretary, when this minister had departed. "He is a man of great sense. He is far from wrong, and has seen through me. What he advises it is my intention to do. They walk with speed that walk alone. Lebrun is an honest man, but he has no political knowledge, though he can make books; Cambacérès has too great a liking for the Revolution. It is requisite that my government should be perfectly new."

Fearful that civil war would be rekindled in the West, the First Consul addressed a proclamation to those provinces, warning them against the dissensions which the agents of England were endeavouring to set afloat. His cautions, supported by an army of sixty thousand men, were successful, and prevented a general explosion. However, the royalist chiefs, backed in their perseverance, both by their personal convictions and by the encouragement of European diplomacy, remained under arms, ready to re-commence the struggle. Bonaparte, who could not take with regard to them the language and tone of historic impartiality, and who could not even have fulfilled the revolutionary mission with which he was charged, if he

had been capable of hiding for himself, with the apathy of a philosophic observer, the fresh threats of emigration, behaved with his usual energy towards the obstinate provokers of the Royalist insurrection, and pointed them out, in a proclamation, to the contempt of the nation, and the vengeance of the army.

The Royalists comprehended that the time for civil war was gone by, and that they had no more campaigns to make, or battles to offer against the new representative of the Revolution, and that they might resign themselves to be hidden from view in the history of La Vendée; happy in being able to leave, in addition to the annals of their fidelity and heroism, acts of pillage and murder, theft and



assassination, which might hereafter form the sole and ignoble trophies of the bands which infested the West and South, after the destruction of the Royalist armies.

It was about this time that several eminent men of the Royalist party imagined that, following the example of Monk, Bonaparte would devote himself to the restoration of monarchy. Brought secretly before him, he said: "I forget the past, and open a vast field for the future. Whoever goes in the right path shall be protected, without distinction; but whoever swerves either to the right or left, will be annihilated. Let all the Vendéans who wish to join the national government, and place themselves under my protection, follow the broad track which is marked out for them."

Another preparatory step towards the contemplated new order of

things was the distribution of honorary sabres among the soldiery. A serjeant of grenadiers, named Aune, having been thus distinguished, wrote a letter of thanks to the First Consul. Napoleon replied as



follows:—"I have received your letter, my brave comrade. You have no need to tell me of your actions. Since the death of the gallant Benezette, you are the bravest grenadier in the army. You have had one of the first hundred sabres which I have distributed. Every soldier agrees that you were the person who most deserved it. —I wish to see you again. The Minister of War sends you an order to come to Paris." This letter circulating among the troops, served the double purpose of keeping alive their enthusiastic admiration of the General, and rendering them devoted adherents to the interest of the First Consul.

The foreign relations of the Republic had been much neglected during the recent changes. Now, however, that domestic quiet was restored, and a firm government established, Napoleon was anxious to obtain an honourable peace, or bring back victory to the national arms. —France was at war with nearly all Europe: Russia, Austria, England, and the Italian States, —England furnishing the chief sup-

plies. In order to ascertain if peace were practicable, the First Consul, discarding the forms usual upon attempting to open negotiations with a hostile power, despatched, on the 26th December, the following autograph letter to George the Third:

“BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL OF THE REPUBLIC, TO HIS MAJESTY,
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

“Called by the voice of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I have thought it fitting, on entering upon this office, to make your majesty immediately acquainted therewith.

“Is the war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, to be eternal? is there no method of coming to an understanding?

“How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, each more powerful and mighty than their safety or independence requires—how can they sacrifice the good of commerce, internal prosperity, and the welfare of families to ideas of vain grandeur? How is it that they do not feel, that they have the most need of peace, since it is so conducive to glory?

“These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who governs a free nation, with the sole aim of rendering it happy.

“In the overture I make, your majesty will observe my sincere desire, for the second time, to contribute efficaciously to the general pacification, by a prompt step, in which I have dispensed with all those forms, which may, perhaps, be necessary with petty states, to conceal their weakness, but which, with powerful nations, only reveal their mutual desire of cheating each other.

“France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may, unhappily for the world, retard this; but I will venture to affirm, that the lot of all civilized nations is concerned in the termination of a war which embraces the whole universe.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“BONAPARTE.”

The British Ministry of the day characterized this proceeding of the First Consul as a display of bad taste, a breach of etiquette, and an indecorous schooling of majesty. Mr. Hazlitt, however, observes, that “where the personal character and motives of the government were continually cavilled at, and made, as in this very instance, an insuperable bar to peace, it was surely allowable for the chief magistrate to come forward in his own person, and take a frank and decisive step, as free as possible from official embarrassment and mystery. It was, at any rate, a less flagrant licence than the assassination of ambassadors, which was the ‘legitimate’ termination of the peace

of Rastadt—the last diplomatic transaction in which Napoleon had been engaged.” In England, the time was considered favourable for continuing the war. Italy had been lost to France, and powerful Austrian armies were menacing Savoy and mustering on the Rhine. The English were elated by their success at the Nile, and before Acre; and the victories of Suwarrow were considered to be decisive. The poverty of France and the anxiety of the people for repose, were well known, and it was hoped that the Royalist and Republican factions would unite in opposition to the new government. The answer transmitted by Lord Grenville to Talleyrand was couched, therefore, in terms which were certain to prove offensive, and to put an end to all further overtures of conciliation. It contained, among others, the following passages:—“His Majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith enclosed.... The King neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this security could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiations with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation, to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and in more than one instance renewed.... For the extension of aggressive war, and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted.... Greatly will his Majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the dangers to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, have really ceased.... The best and most natural pledge of the reality and permanence of such change, would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace!.... In this situation it can, for the present, only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, exertions of just and defensive war.”

The advances of the First Consul were thus repelled by a series of insulting common-places, which were untrue as assertions, and inapplicable to the person against whom they were directed. It is probable, however, that Napoleon expected, and desired this result.

He had exhibited to the French people a desire to restore to the nation the blessings of peace; and the rejection of his overtures could not fail to make the renewal of hostilities popular. By way of commentary on the answer of Lord Grenville, the "Moniteur," published a pretended letter from the last heir of the exiled house of Stuart, demanding from George the Third the throne of Great Britain.

An embassy, sent about this period to the court of Prussia, was favourably received. Duroc was selected for this mission, on account of his graceful manners and many accomplishments, and because, having accompanied Napoleon in all his campaigns, he would be able to entertain Frederick William, who was a prince of warlike tastes, with a narrative of the exploits of the First Consul. The event confirmed the tact of Bonaparte. The envoy was invited to dine with the King, and the Prussian Court was the first to recognise the Consular authority.

The Emperor Paul of Russia, having become disgusted with the conduct of Austria, had withdrawn his troops from Italy; and the English government having refused to include, in a cartel of exchange between itself and France, seven or eight thousand prisoners, who had acted under the command of the Duke of York in Holland, the British ambassador received orders to quit St. Petersburg, and English ships were seized in all the Russian ports. Napoleon ordered the prisoners, about whom the dispute had arisen, to be sent back without ransom, exchange, or condition; and this generosity won the heart of the autocrat, who forthwith wrote to the First Consul expressing the most amicable sentiments. The friendship of Paul, besides being valuable in a political point of view, was prized the more highly by Napoleon, inasmuch as it was that of a sovereign, and drew him a step nearer to becoming a sovereign himself.





CHAPTER XI.

CHANGE OF THE CONSULAR RESIDENCE TO THE TUILERIES.—NEW CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.—PASSAGE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD.—BATTLE OF MARENGO.—RETURN TO PARIS.—NATIONAL REJOICING. 1800.



LIBERTY and Equality—words to which different meanings are applicable in the mouths of different utterers—had been the ostensible plea for overthrowing the Directory; but the First Consul, nevertheless, was well aware of the importance of the forms with which power is clothed, and of the influence of the slightest external circumstances with which it is surrounded;

consequently, he did not fail to apply and bestow on his own all that might extend and increase its splendour in the eyes of the people. The palace of the Luxembourg had been the residence of an infirm authority, issued from the revolutionary assemblies, and fallen, amidst the acclamations of France, under the weight of the public repugnance. This was sufficient to render Bonaparte uneasy in his present dwelling. That which had been sufficient to lodge, even luxuriously, a government essentially provisional, and whose brief existence presented a period of distraction, crime, and disaster to the public view, was no longer suited to an administration feeling its own unity and strength, and aspiring to add duration to its power and glory. The royal palace became hereafter requisite for the First Consul, since he in reality exercised regal power; and it was at the Tuileries alone, consecrated by national tradition as the natural seat of the heads of the state, and as a sort of government sanctuary, that Bonaparte could reside.

The resolution of the First Consul having been once taken, his installation in his new residence was fixed for the 19th January, 1800. This day being come, he said to his secretary: “Ah! well! to-day

then, at length, we are going to sleep at the Tuileries. One must go there with some pomp, which annoys me; but it is requisite to speak to the eyes; it is better for the people. The Directory was too simple, and therefore enjoyed so little consideration. With the army, simplicity is in its place; in a large town, in a palace, it is necessary for the head of a government to attract all eyes by every possible means."

At one o'clock precisely, Bonaparte quitted the Luxembourg, followed by a procession more imposing than magnificent, and of which the fine order of the troops formed the chief pomp. Each body marched with its band in front; the generals and their staffs were on horseback, and the people followed them in crowds, in order to see and admire closely the heroes of so many battles, the flower of



those warriors whose names had been rendered so familiar to them by the campaigns of the Revolution. But amidst them all, they chiefly sought for him who was not only merely elevated above the others by his power, but because he had always proved himself superior to them by his genius and services, the man in whom was centred the military glory of the age, and to whose fortune France proudly entrusted her own destiny. All eyes were fixed on the First Consul, whose carriage was drawn by six white horses, which the Emperor of Austria had given him after the treaty of Campo-Formio. Cambacérès and Lebrun, placed in front of his coach, seemed merely the chamberlains of their colleague. The procession passed through the greater part of Paris, and the greatest enthusiasm was excited by the presence of Bonaparte, "who then," says an unsuspected

witness, M. de Bourrienne, "had no occasion to be watched by the police."

Arrived at the court-yard, the First Consul, with Murat and Lannes at his side, passed the troops in review. When the 96th, 43rd, and 30th demi-brigades filed before him, he took off his hat and bowed in token of respect at sight of their colours, torn to shreds by the fire of the enemy, and blackened with powder. The review ended, he installed himself unostentatiously in that which had formerly been the regal dwelling.

However, to ward off any suspicion of a speedy monarchical restoration, he desired the royal residence might only become his under the title of Palace of Government; and in order to allay still more any Republican susceptibilities, he sent into his new abode a quantity of pictures and statues of those great men of antiquity, whose memory was most dear to the friends of liberty. David, among others, was charged to place his Junius Brutus in one of the galleries of the consular habitation. A fine bust of the second Brutus was also introduced there, which had been brought from Italy.

All these precautions of the First Consul, displayed, with a strongly marked monarchical tendency, the profound sentiment of its origin, and of its revolutionary position. This feeling continued to influence him; and when, later, he appeared to have dispensed with it, the people retained it for him; for, as Madame Letitia was not to be deceived as to the heart of her son by his severe measures, and as she constantly persisted in saying: "Good, the Emperor has done well;" so, the people of France, by a sort of instinct, continued obstinately to remark of the Consul and Emperor, when he appeared most unfaithful to the purport of his mission, and when he strove to restore regal pomp and a throne: "Bonaparte has done well, he is a democrat."

It is from his installation at the Tuileries that those reparatory measures and great establishments must be dated, some of which have already been pointed out: such as the decree abolishing the list of emigrants, the organization of the Bank of France, and those of the prefectures. An event which had just thrown the Republicans of America in dismay, soon furnished the First Consul with a fresh opportunity of manifesting that, despite his rapid attainment of the supreme power, he still considered himself as the first magistrate of a Republic, and bound up as such, by an imperishable sympathy with the destiny of all free nations.

"Washington is dead!" was written in an order of the day addressed to all the troops of the Republic, "this great man fought against tyranny; he has established the liberty of his country; his memory will ever be dear to the French nation, as to every freeman of the two worlds, and especially to the French soldiers, who, like him and the American warriors, fought for liberty and equality. In

consequence of which, the First Consul commands that, for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung upon all the standards and colours of the Republic."

On the same day the Consuls proclaimed the result of the votes taken on the new constitutional act. Out of three millions twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-nine voters, fifteen hundred and sixty-two had rejected, and three millions eleven thousand seven hundred had accepted the constitution.

About this time, Napoleon received news of the army of Egypt, accompanied by a letter, addressed to the Directory, from Kleber, complaining bitterly of the situation in which the army and himself were placed by the departure of the General-in-chief. It stated that the troops were diminished one-half, and that now, instead of a few hordes of Mamelukes, they had to contend against the united efforts of three great powers. Arms and ammunition were failing them, and the soldiers were nearly naked. The season was unfavourable, the Nile not having risen to its usual height. Murad Bey was in Upper Egypt, with a considerable force; Ibrahim was at Gaza, with two thousand Mamelukes; and thirty thousand men, of the army of the Grand Vizier and Djezzar Pacha, were said to have joined him there. General Bonaparte was accused of having exhausted all the disposable resources of the country, and of having left the pay of the troops four millions of francs in arrear, although he had anticipated the revenue by twelve millions.

There is every reason to believe that these statements were greatly exaggerated. Kleber had assumed the command with reluctance, and had always looked upon the expedition with an unfavourable eye. There can be no doubt, however, that the effect of this communication would have been very damaging to Napoleon had it been received before the 18th Brumaire. As it was, the intelligence was kept a profound secret from his colleagues as well as the public; and the following proclamation, addressed to the Army of Egypt, was calculated to mislead all parties as to the real tendency of events:—"Soldiers! The Consuls of the Republic are often busied with the army of the East. France is aware of the great influence your conquests have had in the restoration of her commerce and the civilisation of the world. The eyes of Europe are upon you. I am often with you in imagination. In whatever position the chances of war may place you, always remain the soldiers of Rivoli and Aboukir, and you will be invincible. Repose that unlimited confidence in Kleber which you had in me. He deserves it. Soldiers, think of the day when you will return victorious to our sacred territory; it will be a glorious day for the whole nation."

The accusations of Kleber, notwithstanding the complimentary expressions used in this address, stung the First Consul to the quick, and was long a source of annoyance to him. While at St. Helena,

he wrote an elaborate, if not a perfectly satisfactory, refutation of the whole document.

The vast preparations of Austria now began to attract Napoleon's attention. Marshal Melas, a veteran General, was already in Piedmont, at the head of a hundred and forty thousand men, waiting the approach of spring in order to commence operations in conjunction with the British fleet, which was blockading Genoa. After reducing that city, he was to cross the Var, and carry the war into the heart of France. Early in January, the First Consul had issued orders for the formation of an army of reserve, which was to assemble at Dijon, the command of which was conferred on Berthier. Moreau, meanwhile, was appointed chief of the armies of the Rhine; Massena was placed at the head of the armies of Italy; Brune was invested with the command of the armies of Holland.

The muster at Dijon was a feint to deceive the enemy as to the plan of the intended campaign. A numerous staff was sent there, and it was announced in the 'Moniteur' that the First Consul would proceed thither to review the troops in person. Accordingly, the spies and agents of Austria and England were attracted to Dijon; and when they saw that this vaunted force consisted of conscripts and maimed and aged men, badly clothed and armed, and not exceeding five or six thousand in number, they transmitted such accounts to their employers, that caricatures and pasquinades were published, ridiculing "Bonaparte's Army of Reserve." While the attention of Europe was diverted by these pleasantries, Napoleon devoted all his energies to the organization of the real army of reserve, and arranging the details of one of the most daring campaigns ever attempted. His design was explained in a conversation with De Bourrienne, who one day entered his cabinet while he was stretched upon the floor fixing pins—the heads of which were covered with red and white wax to denote the French and Austrian troops—in a large map of Italy. "I intend to beat Melas thus," he said: "that General is now at Alessandria, where he will remain till Genoa has surrendered. Passing the Alps, at the Great St. Bernard, I shall fall upon his rear, before he even suspects that I am in Italy; and, having taken his magazines, stores, and hospitals, and cut off his communication with Austria, I will give him battle in the plains of the Scrivia, and decide the fate of the war at a blow." It is worthy of remark that his last red pin was placed at the village of St. Julian.

On the 7th of May Napoleon arrived at Dijon, where he reviewed the pretended army of reserve, thus affording additional mirth for the spies who were watching his movements. After halting about two hours, he hastened forward to Geneva, where he was met by General Marescot, who having been previously despatched to survey the passes of the Great St. Bernard, now presented his report, detailing numerous and appalling difficulties. "Is the route practicable?" asked Napo-

leon, impatiently. "It is barely possible to pass," replied the engineer. "Enough!" said the First Consul, "let us proceed."

On the 13th of May, Napoleon reviewed the vanguard of the real army of reserve at Lausanne; it was commanded by General Lannes, and consisted of six old regiments of chosen troops, well clothed, and completely equipped and appointed. It moved directly afterwards upon St. Pierre; the divisions followed in *echelon*, the whole forming an army of thirty-six thousand fighting men, with a park of forty pieces of artillery



The passage of Mount St. Bernard was preferred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis; the difficulty in the former lay in the ascent and descent; but then it offered the advantage of leaving Turin on the

right; and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were put into cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces themselves over; but a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, being prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All these dispositions were made with so much promptitude, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops themselves made it a point of honour not to leave their guns in the rear, and throughout the whole passage the regimental bands were playing; and it was only in difficult spots that the charge was beaten, to give fresh vigour to the soldiers. One division, rather than leave their artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

On the 16th of May, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th. He crossed on the 20th, riding on a mule, recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre as the most sure-footed in all the country. Bonaparte's guide was a tall robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely with him with all the confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains. He confided all his troubles to the First Consul, as well as the dreams of his future happiness. Before he was dismissed, Napoleon, who till then had shown no disposition to do any thing for him, wrote a note, which realized all the poor fellow's hopes, such as the building of a house, the purchase of a piece of ground, &c. The astonishment of the young mountaineer was extreme.

The First Consul remained an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, and performed the descent *à la ramasse*, that is, sliding on a sort of sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The descent was more difficult for the horses than the ascent had been; however, very few accidents happened. The monks also accommodated the men to the best of their ability; each soldier, as he passed, received a comfortable ration from these good fathers.

On the 17th of May, 1800, after the passage of the great St. Bernard, General Lannes arrived at Chatillon, where he attacked and defeated a body of five thousand Austrians, who received the onset of a French division in that quarter, with as much surprise as if an enemy had dropped from the clouds. Every difficulty now seemed surmounted, and corps after corps came down into the plentiful and verdant valley. Suddenly the vanguard was arrested by an unforeseen obstacle. Midway between Aosta and Ivrea, the Dora flows through a defile, not more than fifty yards in width: the heights on either hand rise precipitous; and in the midst an abrupt conical rock, crowned with the fortress of St. Bard, entirely commands the river, and a small walled

town, through the heart of which lies the only passage. Lannes having vainly attempted to force the place by a *coup-de-main*, a panic arose, and, this spreading to the rear, orders were given for stopping the descent of the artillery. Bonaparte had come as far as the town of Aosta, when this intelligence reached him. He immediately hastened to St. Bard, where he found the troops in great confusion. After hastily surveying the localities, Napoleon climbed the height of the Albaredo, which rises on the one side above the fort, and satisfied himself that, though the path had hitherto been trodden only by solitary huntsmen, the army which had crossed the St. Bernard might, by similar efforts, find their way here also. A single cannon being with great difficulty hoisted to the summit, he planted it so as to play full on the chief bastion of St. Bard. The moment this was arranged the troops began their painful march; and they accomplished it without much loss, for Napoleon's gun was so admirably placed that the main battery of the adjacent castle was, ere long, silenced. The men crept along the brow of the Albaredo in single file, each pausing to gaze for a moment on Napoleon, who, overcome with his exertions, had laid down and fallen fast asleep on the summit of the rock. Thus passed the main body, slowly but surely.

On the 27th, General Murat passed the Sesia, and on the 31st of May, Bonaparte moved rapidly upon the Ticino. Here the Austrians had united to cover Milan, and the contest was brisk during the whole day. The French had no bridge, but crossed upon four small boats; and on the 2nd of June, they entered the city of Milan, and invested the citadel. Bonaparte, marching with the vanguard, was one of the first persons who presented themselves to the eyes of the astonished inhabitants who had crowded from all quarters. They could scarcely trust their sight! it had been reported that Napoleon had died on the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army.

Napoleon immediately reorganized the Cisalpine Republic, and addressed the following proclamation to the army:—"Soldiers! One of our departments had fallen into the power of the enemy. The whole of the north of France was in consternation; the greater part of the Ligurian territory was invaded. The Cisalpine Republic, annihilated since the last campaign, had become the plaything of the ridiculous feudal system. Soldiers, you have marched, and already the French territory is delivered; joy and hope succeed to consternation and fear in the bosoms of our countrymen. You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa; they will be for ever delivered from their eternal enemies. You are in the Cisalpine capital! The enemy is only anxious to regain his own frontiers. You have taken from him his stores, magazines, and reserves of artillery. The first act of the campaign is ended; every day you will hear

millions of men express their gratitude towards you. But shall they thus with impunity violate the French territory ; will you allow that army which has caused alarm in your families to return to its hearths ? You will rush to arms ? Well then, march in pursuit ; oppose your-



selves to its retreat ; snatch from it the laurels of which it has taken possession ; and thus teach the world that a curse hangs over the mad-men who dare to insult the territory of the Great Nation. The result of all our efforts will be unclouded glory and lasting peace."

Napoleon, being anxious to relieve Genoa, despatched a division of Moncey's corps to watch the motions of the enemy, and to operate on the right bank of the Po, in order to prevent Melas from reaching Milan. In the midst of these preparations news arrived of the surrender of Genoa by Massena. The city had sustained the blockade till the inhabitants, pressed by famine, became tumultuous, and threatened to rise *en masse*, and open the gates to the enemy. Every thing eatable had been devoured—even to the shoes and knapsacks of the men, and the saddles and harness of the horses. Massena was therefore compelled to listen to overtures for a conference from General Ott and Lord Keith, the British admiral. Almost at the moment when this conference was fixed, the Austrian General had received orders from Melas to raise the blockade, and fall back upon the Po ; so that if Massena had held out a few hours longer, the place would have been saved. The French obtained honourable terms of capitulation, and were permitted

to march out of Genoa with arms and baggage, and proceed to the head-quarters of General Suchet, at Voltri.

On the 11th of June a severe engagement took place at the village of Montebello. General Ott, with the troops disengaged by the fall of Genoa, encountered in his march the division of Lannes, consisting of not more than eight hundred men, and, conscious of his superiority, forced him to an immediate conflict. For some hours victory appeared to incline to the Austrians. Fortunately, however, just as the troops of Lannes began to be exhausted, the division of General Victor arrived to their aid, and turned the tide of battle. The field was covered with tall crops of rye, and the hostile battalions frequently found themselves at the point of each other's bayonets before they were aware of the proximity of their opponents. The slaughter was therefore immense, the contest being maintained by physical exertion—man to man. At length the Austrians were broken, and compelled to a precipitate retreat, leaving three thousand killed and six thousand prisoners upon the field. Napoleon, having heard of the attack, was



hastening to the spot when the Austrians fled. The soldiers were too much fatigued to pursue the retreating foe.

On the morning of the battle of Montebello, Desaix, who had just returned from Egypt, reached the head-quarters of the First Consul, bringing with him news of the capitulation of El-Arisch, and the disasters of the French army. Napoleon, who had a high opinion of his military talents, appointed him to the command of the division of Boudet, who had been killed in a recent engagement. "On my return to Paris," he said, when Desaix had retired, "I will make him Minister of War. He shall be next in place and power to myself. I would make him a prince if I were able. He is of the heroic mould of antiquity."

On the 13th, at day-break, Napoleon passed the Scrivia, and

marched to St. Julian, in the midst of the great plain of Marengo, not doubting that Melas would take advantage of this fine field for cavalry operations to give battle. As, however, there was no appearance of an Austrian force, Bonaparte began to fear that the enemy had eluded him. Under the impression that the Austrians were marching towards Genoa, or manœuvring to cross the Po, the First Consul ordered Lapoype to fall back upon the Ticino, to prevent the enemy from occupying the left bank of the river, and despatched Desaix with the reserve to Novi, to interrupt the advance of troops towards the sea. Victor was ordered to enter the village of Marengo, and ascertain if Melas had any bridge upon the Bormida. He met there an Austrian outpost of four or five thousand men, whom he attacked and speedily routed, taking two guns and a hundred prisoners. Immediately after this engagement, the division of Chabran, which had been left to operate on the Po, in order to prevent the passage of the Austrians, arrived in the plain, and were greeted with shouts of welcome by their victorious countrymen.



On the evening of the 13th, the eve of one of the most glorious days in the annals of France, Napoleon lay at the village of Torre de Garofola, and fell asleep, having received no intelligence of Melas. The Austrian General, meanwhile, whose army had not recovered from the panic of Montebello, was agitated by the most gloomy forebodings. A council of war was held, at which it was debated whether to retire by the upper Po and the Ticino, or shut themselves up in Genoa; but at length it was decided to give battle next morning, cut their way, if possible, through the French army, and, reaching Mantua, open a passage for supplies and reinforcements from Vienna. The

chances of victory were still greatly in their favour, as they were greatly superior in number to the French; their cavalry being upwards of three to one. Melas could muster on the spot fifty thousand effective men, while Napoleon had scarcely thirty thousand, including the division of Desaix. The decision of the council, when communicated to the troops, was received with joy; and the Austrian army was, therefore, at once concentrated in front of Alessandria, with nothing but the Bormida and a small portion of the plain of Marengo between it and the foe.

On the 14th, at break of day, the Austrians defiled by three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack upon Marengo. The resistance was kept up for a long time. Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, between St. Julian and Marengo: the latter had been carried by the enemy. Victor's division, after a smart conflict, was thrown into the utmost disorder, and the plain was covered with French fugitives, many of whom were exclaiming in dismay, "All is lost!"



The corps of General Lannes, a little in the rear of the right of Marengo, was outflanked by the enemy, upon which Bonaparte dispatched his battalion of the consular guard, the best troops in the army,

to station themselves at a distance of five hundred toises from Lannes, and keep the enemy in check. The First Consul himself also hastened with the seventy-second brigade to assist Lannes. When the army perceived him in the middle of this immense plain, and two hundred horse grenadiers with their fur caps, their hopes of victory returned, and the fugitives were rallied upon St. Juliano in the rear of the left of Lannes, who was effecting his retreat with admirable order and coolness. This corps occupied three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, entirely exposed to the grape-shot of eighty pieces of cannon; at the same time that, by an inverse movement, St. Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, in order to turn the left of the enemy.

In the meantime, the left and centre of the French line, no longer able to withstand the overwhelming charges of cavalry made against them, were thrown into disorder, and began a precipitate retreat. The battle seemed inevitably lost. Melas, who thought that victory had decided in his favour, being overcome with fatigue, repassed the bridges, and left to General Zach, the head of his staff, the task of pursuing the French. At this critical moment, the corps of Desaix arrived at the



village of St. Juliano, to which the Austrian hussars had approached within pistol shot. Desaix himself had galloped forward in advance of his division; and riding up to the First Consul, he exclaimed, "This,

General, appears to be a battle lost." "Nay," replied Napoleon, "it is a battle won. Push forward with your column, while I rally the disordered troops, which you see, in your rear." The intrepid General instantly obeyed. At the head of the 9th brigade he charged the Austrian column with such impetuosity, that it was driven back in the utmost disorder. Napoleon seized the fortunate interval to gallop through the field, calling upon the disordered soldiers to reform, and again advance. "Recollect, my children," he exclaimed, "I am accustomed to sleep on the field of battle. You have retired far enough." The men responded to his call with enthusiasm, amid shouts of "Vive la Republique! Vive Bonaparte!" The corps of Victor and Lannes were speedily in order again, burning with impatience to revenge their defeat.



The whole army was drawn up, as rapidly as possible, in new line of battle, before St. Juliano, with the cavalry concentrated in advance. General Marmont suddenly unmasked a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, and a thick shower of grape-shot fell upon the head of an Austrian column which had endeavoured to penetrate to the left, and which had not expected any fresh resistance, as they believed the

French to be retreating. It was at this time that Desaix charged with the ninth light infantry. He advanced at their head, on horse-back ; and having ascended a gentle elevation which concealed him from the Austrians, he disclosed himself to them by a volley of musketry from his leading column. The Austrians replied to this, and Desaix fell, struck by a bullet in the chest. Young Lebrun, the son of the Third Consul, is said to have received the dying words of the hero. "Go tell Napoleon," he said, "that I die with regret at not having accomplished sufficient to be remembered by posterity." It was in the midst of the hottest fire of the day that the First Consul received the tidings of his loss. Of all the Generals of the army he was the best beloved and most esteemed. "Why," exclaimed Bonaparte, when his death was announced, "is it not permitted me to weep !"

This misfortune did not discourage the troops. General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with the same ardent desire of instant



revenge. On this occasion the ninth demi-brigade merited the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman, at the same time, with eight hundred heavy horse, charged the Austrian column intrepidly ; in less than half an hour these six thousand grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight, and General Zach and all his staff made prisoners.

General Lannes immediately charged forwards. St. Cyr, who was upon the right, was much nearer than the enemy to the bridges upon the Bormida. The whole Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion. From eight to ten thousand cavalry which were spread over the field, fearing that St. Cyr's division might reach the bridge before them, retreated at full gallop, and overturned all they met in their way. No one thought of any thing but flight. The pressure and confusion on the bridges became extreme, and all who remained at night upon the left bank were made prisoners.

In this desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves; availing himself of the Bormida on one side, and the citadel of Alessandria on the other, or at any rate to save his army by capitulating. Accordingly, on the 15th, by day-break, the Austrian General sent a flag of truce, which on the same day led to a convention, by which Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were given up, and by which the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of all Italy secured. In consequence of this change of affairs, General Suchet entered Genoa on the 24th of June, which was given up to him by Prince Hohenzollern, to the great regret of the English, whose vanguard from Mahon had arrived within sight of that port.

Many persons have ascribed the victory of Marengo entirely to Desaix, asserting that Bonaparte was defeated, till the former came up and changed the fortune of the day. An officer, who in many points of view was not an admirer of Napoleon, has maintained the contrary opinion, and asserted that Bonaparte's talents as a General were never more conspicuous than during the battle of Marengo; he saved every thing by defending the narrow defile on the side of that village till Desaix came up, and, perhaps, no other General in the world could have kept his men at the defile as he did, exposed all the time to a dreadful fire from the enemy. He was himself an example of intrepidity, which increased his personal influence with the soldiers to such a degree, that they remained firm as the rocks by which they were surrounded. Had it been otherwise, Desaix's corps would have come in vain. However, this General's conduct, and the bravery of his troops, were above all praise. It is true, the appearance of victory in one or two parts of this extended field, roused the courage of the Austrians to enthusiasm. They pressed on to complete their triumph. The consular guard, called "the wall of granite," met and resisted the shock. The eye of Bonaparte fixed the fortune of the day: he foresaw that the enemy, in the ardour of success, would extend his line too far. What he foresaw happened, and called back victory to her favourite banner. It was then that Desaix's division rushed into the midst of the triumphant foe, divided their ranks, and finally completed their ruin.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both armies of the means of succouring the wounded ; a great number of whom were left upon the field of battle. The Austrians and the French now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance. "The next morning," says an eye-witness, "I entered the great court of Marengo. I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection : more than three thousand French and Austrians heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables, and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon. To add to the horrors of the scene, prisoners were brought in from every part, and their wants only served to increase the general misery."

On the night of the 15th, Napoleon, with a portion of his staff, passed over the field of battle ; the dead bodies, which there had not been time to inter, still strewing the ground. The moon was shining brightly over the plain ; and in the deep silence, a dog suddenly leaped from the side of a dead Austrian soldier, howling and whining piteously, then returning to his resting place, alternately licking his master's hands and face, and turning to gaze on the horsemen before



him, as if imploring their compassion and aid. When relating this circumstance afterwards at St. Helena, Napoleon remarked that, whether owing to his own turn of mind at the moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, no incident on any field of battle had ever affected him so deeply. "I involuntarily stopped," he said, "to contemplate the scene, and could not forbear ejaculating. 'This man had doubtless friends in the Austrian camp ; yet here he lies forsaken by all, except

his dog?" At that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy; and could well understand the feelings of Achilles when he gave up the body of Hector at sight of Priam's tears."

The body of Desaix, after being embalmed at Marengo, was conveyed to Mount St. Bernard, for interment, where a monument was erected to his memory. He was borne to his grave by soldiers who had served under him, and was honoured by their tears. He fell at the age of thirty-six. A spot at the junction of two roads on the field of Marengo is sometimes pointed out as the grave of the hero; this, however, is a mistake, arising from the fact that a pillar, since removed, was once erected there as a trophy of the victory.



On the 3rd of July, less than two months after his departure from Paris, Napoleon returned in triumph to the capital, amidst the acclamations of immense crowds. His first care was to reward the bravery of his companions in arms. Already, at the opening of the campaign, and at the foot of Mount St. Bernard, he had named the intrepid Latour d'Auvergne, who refused all advancement, "First Grenadier of the Republic." On his return, after an expedition so rapid, crowned with so brilliant a victory, he considered he ought to make a great number of promotions, and distribute some marks of honour.

Whilst the First Consul re-took in a few days the finest portion of Italy, Brune and Bernadotte, commanders-in-chief of the armies of the west, had pacified Brittany, and a festival to celebrate the union of the whole of France had been determined on. A decree of the Consuls fixed the day for the 14th of July; and that nothing might be wanting in this grand solemnity, the same day was fixed for laying the first stones of the columns in the departments, and of the national column—the former raised in the chief town of every department, and the latter at Paris, in the Place Vendôme, to the glory of the brave men killed in the defence of the liberty of their country. Several officers, sent by the two armies of Italy and the Rhine, displayed before the Consuls the colours taken from the enemy, which they came to offer to the Government as an homage to the country, to whom Bonaparte addressed this noble speech:—"The colours now presented to the Government before the people of this mighty capital, attest the genius of the generals-in-chief, Moreau, Massena, and Berthier, the military talents of the generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French soldiers. Tell the troops, on your return to the camp, that on the epoch of the 1st Vendemiaire, when we shall celebrate the anniversary of the Republic, the French nation expects either the announcement of peace, or, if the enemy places invincible obstacles in its way, fresh colours, the fruit of further victories."

This memorable day was ended by a banquet which the First Consul gave to the principal authorities of the Republic, and at which he proposed the following toast:—"To the 14th July, and our sovereign, the French nation."





CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.—CONGRESS OF LUNEVILLE.—FESTIVAL OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC.—ROYALIST CONSPIRACY.—INFERNAL MACHINE. 1800.



EFT, by the fortunate termination of the campaign, sufficient leisure to attend to the domestic affairs of the country, Napoleon sought to re-establish the old commercial relations of France, and to reproduce internal prosperity. To Austria, the terms were again offered which had been accepted as the basis of the negotiations of Rastadt: while Mr. Pitt, conceiving that Marengo had

dissipated the bright hopes of the allies, is said to have exclaimed, after tracing the positions of the Republican armies upon the map of Europe, "Fold up that map, it need not be again opened these twenty years." Acting on this impression, he forwarded to the British ambassador at Vienna instructions to intimate the readiness of England to take part in negotiations for a general peace. This produced from Napoleon a demand for a naval armistice; which, as it would have occasioned the withdrawal of British vessels then blockading the French ports and the island of Malta, and would have been otherwise disadvantageous to England, was declined. The Emperor of Austria, at the same time, was induced, by the influence of British diplomacy, and a loan of two millions sterling, to disclaim the acts of his plenipotentiary, and also to prepare for a renewal of the war.

One month after the celebration of the 14th July, Napoleon employed himself in organizing the Council of State, and in appointing the members. On the 3rd September he concluded a treaty of amity and commerce between France and the United States; and on the

20th of the same month, on the refusal of the Emperor of Austria to sign the preliminaries of peace, he called another congress at Luneville, where General Clarke represented the Republic.

The festival of the 1st Vendemiaire was not less pompous than that of the 14th July. Deputies from all the departments assisted at it. This day was fixed upon for laying the first stone of the national monument to be erected in the Place de la Victoire, to the memory of Desaix and Kleber, who both fell on the same day, the one at Marengo by the fire of the enemy, the other at Cairo by the poniard of the



assassin. De Bourrienne observes: "Thus were taken from their country, on the same day, and almost within the same hour, two of the most illustrious generals of the French army.

"The house of Elfi-Bey, which Bonaparte inhabited at Cairo, and after him his successor in the command, had a terrace leading from the *salon* to a ruined cistern, whence a flight of steps conducted to the garden on one side, while on the other was the public square. When we were in Egypt, this was the favourite promenade of the Commander-in-chief, to whom I had often represented the propriety of filling up the cistern, and making it level with the terrace. My precautions

were not adopted, and Soleyman Haleby, the assassin of Kleber, profited by the neglect. Hiding himself in the cistern, he stole behind the general, and stabbed him mortally in the groin.

"This sad news reached Bonaparte some time after our return to Paris. Deprived for a long time of information from Egypt, he expected despatches with much anxiety. When a courier from the East at length arrived, it was past two o'clock in the morning. In his eagerness, the First Consul waited not to awake any one, in order to call me. He came up himself, and as there were two doors, he knocked twice at my secretary's, who slept in one of the three chambers composing my small suite. The secretary rose and opened. On seeing a man with a taper in his hand, a drab coloured great-coat, and a night-cap on his head, the reader may conceive the secretary's surprise. 'Where is Bourrienne!'—'Good God, General, is it you?'—'Where is Bourrienne!' The secretary, still in his shirt, then showed my door to the First Consul; who, after expressing his regret for having disturbed the secretary, came into my room. I dressed in haste, and we descended, having rung several times before any one opened; for the housekeeper, though not asleep, was afraid to open, apprehensive of robbers from the comings and goings she had heard. At length we were admitted, and the First Consul laid upon the table the voluminous despatches he had just received. They were labelled, and had been steeped in vinegar. On hearing the death of Kleber announced, Bonaparte displayed in his whole manner the greatest uneasiness; an expression which silently but eloquently spoke his fears, 'Egypt is lost!'

"I stop not to rebut here the atrocious calumnies which had been published respecting Kleber's death? By that unlooked for event, Bonaparte was most deeply affected; the knowledge which he had of Kleber's capacity; the command of the army confided to him; the succours which by every means he essayed to send him, repel not only the horrible suspicion of the slightest participation in that crime, but even the thought that he viewed with pleasure, or even desired, the destruction of Kleber. Doubtless there existed between Bonaparte and Kleber an aversion as obvious, as the friendship between the former and Desaix was apparent. The fame of Kleber annoyed him; he had the weakness to be somewhat jealous of his reputation; he knew also the manner in which Kleber spoke of his plans; for the latter took no care to conceal his sentiments. During the long and bloody siege of Acre, he would say to me, 'Your little scoundrel Bonaparte, who is no taller than my boot, will enslave France. See what a cursed expedition he has led us into.' I give it not for certain that such remarks, often repeated to others, were reported to Bonaparte, but there were those who sought advancement by informing, and would not spare Kleber. A frank republican, he had divined and feared the projects of Bonaparte against liberty. But with all this—and a fault-

finder by disposition—as a soldier, duty was ever paramount. He grumbled, swore, stormed; but marched bravely amid the hottest fire. He was courage personified. One day, while in the trenches of Acre, standing upright, and by his great height, exposed to every shot, Bonaparte cried out, ‘Stoop now, can’t you, Kleber.’—‘Eh!’ was the surly reply, ‘d—n your bit of a ditch, it is not knee deep.’ He never regarded the Egyptian expedition with a favourable eye, looking upon it as too expensive and useless to France. In short, cold, discriminating, and reflecting, Kleber judged Bonaparte without enthusiasm, a rare thing in those days, and consequently pardoned not a single fault. On the other hand, Bonaparte, ever animated by the desire of retaining Egypt, whose preservation alone could justify its conquest, allowed Kleber to talk, for Kleber acted. He knew that duty, and the virtues of the soldier, would always prove too powerful for personal prejudice or opposition. Thus, the death of his lieutenant, far from awakening the least feeling of satisfaction, afflicted him the more, that it destroyed almost entirely the hope of preserving to France an acquisition so dearly purchased, and which was his own work.”

The conveying of the ashes of the famous Turenne to the temple of Mars, by order of the Consuls, also added great importance to the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. The minister of war, Carnot, made a speech on this occasion, and no mouth was fitter than his to eulogise the immortal warrior, whose remains were thus honoured by France. The inauguration of Prytanée, at St. Cyr, still further marked the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Republican era.

However, in spite of the civic festivals, and despite the efforts of the First Consul not to give the alarm to certain patriots suspecting his disinterestedness, the manner in which he had possessed himself of power, and the dispositions which he had since shown, too well announced his impatience to put an end to the Republican institutions, not to alarm the Republican party, who were highly incensed; and several fanatics conceived the project of assassinating the man who, in their eyes, was neither more nor less than an usurper and a tyrant. The ex-deputy Arena, the sculptor Ceracchi, Topino Lebrun, a pupil of David, and Damerville were of the number. The conspirators were betrayed to the police by their accomplice Harrel; and, on the evening they had fixed for the murder, they were arrested, behind the scenes at the opera, while Napoleon sat unmolested in his box. The circumstances of the plot were not made public; and Napoleon was content, for the present, to detain them in safe custody.

A second conspiracy was of a more formidable character, and more nearly accomplished its object. This was a contrivance of the Royalists; who thus endeavoured to get rid of a man who seemed the most formidable obstacle to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. This plot is well known as that of the *Infernal Machine*. A barrel of

gunpowder, strongly secured in a cart, in the midst of a quantity of canister shot and pieces of iron, was placed in one of the narrow streets which lead to the Carrousel, and through which the First Consul frequently passed on his way to the Opera. The 24th of December was fixed for the accomplishment of the design. On this day Napoleon had appointed to be present at the first performance of Haydn's Oratorio of 'the Creation.' The conspirators selected the Rue Nicaise as the scene of their guilt, as in this street several successive windings must necessarily slacken the pace of the best driven vehicle. One of their number, named St. Regent, undertook the task of setting fire to the train, and he had the barbarity to give the horse yoked to this horrible machine in charge to a girl fifteen years of age. When the evening arrived, the First Consul, exhausted by the labours of the day, could scarcely be induced to leave home. However, he permitted those around him to persuade him, and he set out from the Tuileries at a quarter before eight o'clock. Immediately he entered the carriage he fell into a slumber, and dreamed of passing the Tagliamento, which three or four years before he had crossed by torchlight, during a flood. He was suddenly awakened by a violent noise, like a clap of thunder, accompanied by flame, and exclaimed. "We are blown up!" Those accompanying him would immediately have stopped the carriage; but, with greater presence of mind, Napoleon ordered the coachman to drive on; and, a short time afterwards, they alighted in safety at the Opera, where the report, which was heard for several miles round Paris, had created the utmost consternation. Napoleon seated himself in his box with an unruffled countenance, taking as usual the front seat, and the performance proceeded. He was probably indebted for his escape to the intoxication of his coachman, who drove faster than usual, and thus passed the machine a few moments before the explosion, which shattered several houses in the street, killing twenty and wounding fifty-three persons. Among the latter was the miscreant St. Regent, who had fired the train.

After devoting a short time to the performance, Napoleon returned to the Tuileries, where all the leading characters of the time had hastened to learn what had happened, and what the result was likely to be. Scarcely had he arrived among them, than he gave the rein to his impetuous nature, and exclaimed in a loud voice: "This is the work of Jacobins; it is the Jacobins who have tried to assassinate me. There are neither nobles, nor priests, nor Chouans implicated here. I have reasons for this opinion, and nothing shall make me change it. It proceeds from a pack of rogues and dirty vagabonds, who are in open revolt, who are engaged in a permanent conspiracy, in constant opposition to all the governments which have succeeded each other. They are artists and painters, who have ardent imaginations, a little more education than the mob, and exercise some influence over them. They are the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of the

21st of May, the conspirators of the Prairial, the authors of all the crimes committed against the different governments. If they cannot be fettered they must be crushed; France must be purged of this disgusting rabble. Such rascals shall have no mercy!"

These words, in which so much just indignation was displayed, were repeated in a reply of the First Consul to a deputation from the department of the Seine; but what is most to be deplored is, that they were followed by the punishment of the victims which the atrocious Harrel had delivered to the police, and by the transportation of a hundred and thirty citizens, the perseverance and ardour of whose patriotism had rendered them suspected. Fouché, the minister of police, who had to excuse himself for not having foreseen and prevented the murderous attempts, was one of the most eager to punish the pretended culprits, and easily obtained the sanction of the First Consul for the measures which he proposed; and, for a long time afterwards, excited and increased his suspicions against the Republicans. By a combination which nothing can justify, they were not contented with merely proscribing a mass of innocent people, but also endeavoured to expose others to contempt and opprobrium, by monstrously associating the honourable names of Talot, Destrem, Lepelletier, St. Fargean, etc., with those of various obscure actors in the reign of terror, to whom they affected to apply the epithet of *septembriseurs*, in order to render the disgrace more overwhelming for those irreproachable Republicans, whom it was endeavoured to dishonour and expatriate at the same time. A month after, it was discovered that the crime emanated from the royalists; and Fouché, who had been indefatigable in his efforts to discover the authors of the crime, was enabled to report that they were in custody. At a dinner given by drivers of fiacres to Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, to congratulate him on his escape, a man who was present said he had seen the cart which did the mischief issue from a stable-yard near his stand. This clue led to a full disclosure of the facts. Carbon and St. Regent, who had recently come from London in company with Georges Cadoudal, and other Royalists, were apprehended in the house of two nuns, Madame Goyon and Madame de Cicé, and being brought to trial, were fully convicted, and suffered on the scaffold. But this punishment of the two culprits could not revoke the severities of the government against the innocent democrats, who, on their passage to Nantes, had fallen victims to public indignation.

During the period that the police were pursuing their enquiries after the conspirators of the infernal machine, a pamphlet, entitled, "Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, Monk, and Bonaparte," appeared, and created a great sensation in the political circles of Paris. It advocated the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy, and openly pointed at the conqueror of Italy as the man to be hailed as "Founder of a new Dynasty." It was generally received, however, with clamorous

disapprobation; and Napoleon was counselled to suppress it, lest it should injure him in public estimation. He sent for Fouché, and strongly reprehended him for allowing it to be published. The Minister listened with the most imperturbable coolness, and informed the First Consul that his brother Lucien had taken the pamphlet under his protection, and that the whole affair had been authorised by the Minister of the Interior. Napoleon was staggered for a moment; but stifling his chagrin, he resumed, "It was your duty as Minister of Police to have denounced Lucien, and imprisoned him in the Temple." Then, hastening from the cabinet, he muttered, "That blockhead, Lucien, is constantly compromising me!" De Bourrienne, who was present at this scene, relates "Alarmed at the effect the 'Parallel' was calculated to produce, I hastened to Lucien, and taxed him with his imprudence. Instead of answering me, he drew forth from a private drawer the original manuscript of the publication, full of corrections and suggestions in the hand-writing of the First Consul." Lucien was shortly afterwards made to resign the office he then held in the ministry, but was compensated with the appointment of ambassador to the court of Spain. Napoleon thus thought it necessary to yield, for a time, to the force of public opinion. He saw that the people were not yet prepared to submit to the outward forms, notwithstanding that they had sanctioned the assumption of the substantial prerogatives of monarchy.





CHAPTER XIII.

SPECIAL TRIBUNALS.—PUBLIC WORKS.—TREATY OF LUNEVILLE.—HOHENLINDEN.—COPENHAGEN.—THE CONCORDAT.—PEACE OF AMIENS.—TE DEUM IN NOTRE DAME. 1800—1801.



GETTING no opportunity escape for the consolidation of his power, the First Consul took advantage of the conspiracy of the infernal machine to institute *Special Tribunals*, which became soon the instruments of the absolute power which the First Consul in reality exercised over France. These institutions were succeeded by another, intended to grant Napoleon the power of

banishing from Paris or from France all persons who might be looked upon as public enemies, though innocent of any absolute crime. This dangerous project encountered in the Tribunate the courageous opposition of Benjamin Constant, Daunou, Ginguéné, Chénier, Isnard, etc. Three or four fearless voices, those of Lambrechts, Garat, and Lenoir Laroche, also made themselves heard in the Senate. But the defenders of liberty were in a very great minority, and the wishes of the First Consul were easily converted into legislative enactments.

In addition to these re-actionary measures, every day brought forth evidence of the genius which was to raise the power and glory of France to so great a height. Canals and harbours sprang forth on all

sides; the fine arts acquired fresh splendour; scientific discoveries were encouraged; commerce and industry flowed in channels until then unknown.

On the 17th January, 1801, the re-establishment of the company of Africa was ordered; and the First Consul, transporting his thoughts from the Atlas to the Alps, and embracing in his vast solicitude the interests of civilisation, among polished nations as well as among barbarians, appointed, by a decree of the same day, General Turreau to preside at the construction of the splendid road across the Simplon.

In the meantime, the negotiations for peace with Austria and England proceeded but slowly; and Napoleon soon perceived that the object of the allies was only to gain time. The commanders of the armies of the Rhine and of Italy received orders to give notice, on the 1st of September, of the expiration of the truce, and to resume hostilities without delay. At this time the British loan of two millions reached Vienna, and decided the Emperor on risking another campaign. Still, however, he was anxious to gain time, in order to recruit his armies, as the French forces were superior in number and discipline to his own; and Count Lerbach was despatched to Luneville, but with insufficient powers to treat with Joseph Bonaparte, the French plenipotentiary, on terms for a definitive peace. On the very opening of the proceedings, the object of Austria became manifest; and Napoleon, exasperated at this duplicity, ordered his generals to resume hostilities on the expiration of forty-five days.

Moreau, at the head of the Grand Army of Germany, numbering a hundred and forty thousand men, commanded by some of the best officers France had produced, commenced operations on the 27th of November. He advanced in four divisions upon the Inn, along the left bank of which he bivouacked on the 30th. The Archduke John, whose reputation among the Imperial troops almost equalled that of his brother Charles, was at the head of the opposing army, which was about equal in number to that of the French. At day-break on the 1st of December, the Archduke deployed sixty thousand men before the heights of Ampfingen and Achau, and, attacking the French positions before they were prepared, drove back the divisions of Grenier, Ney, Grandjean, and Legrand, with considerable loss, and carried consternation into the whole of the French army. But the Austrian general, like all his predecessors, was incapable of taking advantage of the fortunate moment, and contented himself with petty movements, thus giving his opponents time to rally. At day-break on the 3rd he put his army in motion, advancing in three divisions, intending to encamp in the evening in the plain of Amzing. A heavy fall of snow had obliterated all traces of roads, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops were enabled to reach the wild forest of Hohenlinden, near the village of which name the firing commenced. Grouchy's division was surprised, and driven back in disorder; but

Ney hastened to the spot, and by a desperate charge carried dismay into the Austrian column. The battle soon became general, and after one of the most protracted and bloody contests in which the French had ever been engaged, the fate of the day was decided by the desperate valour of Count Richepanse, who penetrated with two regiments into the depths of the forest, manœuvred to get into the rear of the Austrian artillery, and charged and routed its escort with the bayonet, capturing eighty-seven pieces of cannon and seven hundred waggons. The confusion in the rear caused by this movement rapidly spread to the van, and the Archduke precipitately retreated with the wreck of his army behind the Inn, having lost twenty-five thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The French lost ten thousand men.

Moreau, after this important victory, hastened to cross the Inn and the Salza; and, on the 22nd, established his head-quarters at Kremsmunster, while his advanced posts were within two days' march of Vienna. Augereau, meanwhile, defeated the Baron Albin and twenty thousand Austrians, passed the Rednitz, and took possession of Nuremburg, on the frontiers of Bohemia. Macdonald advanced as far as Trent in the Tyrol. Brune passed the Mincio, the Adige, and the Brenta, and was within a few miles of Venice; while Murat, with the Army of Observation, was at Milan. At no period of its history, not even in the early part of Maria Theresa's reign, was the Austrian monarchy in more critical danger: the capital lay defenceless before whichever of the enemy's armies should first arrive at its gates. The Archduke Charles was now called to take the command of the army, but it was too late; and recourse was had to negotiation. A suspension of hostilities for thirty days was solicited and conceded, and this term was extended until the signing of the treaty of Luneville, on the 9th of February, 1801; when the Emperor consented to renounce the English alliance, and accept the terms dictated by the conqueror.

The treaty of Luneville, chiefly concluded with the court of Vienna, was followed by separate ones with Naples, Madrid, and Parma. It was about the same time that Bonaparte formed the departments of Roer, the Sarre, the Rhine and Moselle, and Mont Tonnerre; and as the aggrandisement and pacification of the Republic must necessarily lead to its actual prosperity, the First Consul published a law authorizing the establishment of marts of trade, and ordained that every year, from the 17th to the 22nd September, there should be a public exhibition of the productions of French industry.

Being now at peace with the whole of the continent of Europe, Napoleon was at liberty to turn his undivided attention towards England, which still continued the war, without any apparent object. Her superiority at sea was fully established; and she could scarcely hope, abandoned by her allies, to obtain any permanent advantage by land. After a siege of two years, Malta had been wrested from the Republic; and Egypt was the only point on which she could expect

to obtain any success. Great dissatisfaction had latterly existed among the northern maritime states in consequence of the encroachments of England in searching neutral vessels; and the First Consul exerted every art of diplomacy to fan the existing jealousy of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden into open rage, and succeeded in inducing them to join Russia and France in forming a coalition against British exactions. The Emperor Paul, incensed at the refusal of the Cabinet of London to restore the Island of Malta to the Knights of St. John, according to stipulation, had seized all the English subjects in his dominions. Prussia took possession of Hanover; and Denmark occupied the free city of Hamburg. England was thus compelled, unless she submitted to humiliation, to encounter single-handed the combined fleets of Europe, and the immense military power of France, and this, too, at a time when she was suffering from a scarcity of provisions, the consequence of bad harvests and the unsettled state of commerce.

In the face of these appalling difficulties, the British government displayed a courage and promptitude which has few parallels in history. Early in March, a powerful fleet was fitted out, and sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker and Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, with a view of attacking the northern powers, ere they could effect their meditated junction with the fleets of France and Holland. The English passed the Sound on the 13th of March, and reconnoitred the road of Copenhagen, where the Crown-Prince, Regent of Denmark, had made formidable preparations to receive them. It was on the 2nd of April, that Nelson, who had volunteered to lead the assault, having at length obtained a favourable wind, advanced with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, upon the Danish armament, which consisted of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, and an enormous array of small craft, all chained to each other and to the ground, and protected by the Crown batteries, mounting eighty-eight guns, and the fortifications of the isle of Amack. The battle lasted for four hours, and ended in a signal victory. Some few schooners and bomb vessels fled early, and escaped: the whole Danish fleet besides were sunk, burnt, or taken. The Prince Regent, to save the capital from destruction, was compelled to enter into a negociation, which ended in the abandonment of the French alliance by Denmark. Lord Nelson then reconnoitred Stockholm; but, being unwilling to inflict unnecessary suffering, did not injure the city, on discovering that the Swedish fleet had already put to sea. Meantime, news arrived that the Emperor Paul had been assassinated in his palace at St. Petersburg; and that the policy which he had adopted, to the displeasure of the Russian nobility, was likely to find no favour with his successor. The moving spirit of the northern confederacy was, in effect, no more, and a brief negociation ended in its total disrapture.

The death of Paul afflicted the First Consul extremely. "A

revolution of the palace," he exclaimed, "has frustrated all my plans. Had the Czar lived, I should have concerted measures with him to give a mortal blow to the British power in India." Notwithstanding his chagrin, however, he despatched Duroc to St. Petersburg to congratulate the Emperor Alexander on his accession to the throne. The morning after the news of the death of Paul reached Paris, the following announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*, by which Napoleon evidently sought to insinuate that the government of England had some participation in the tragedy:—"Paul I. died on the night between the 23rd and 24th of March. The English squadron passed the Sound on the 30th. History will enlighten us as to the relation existing between these two events."

Soon afterwards intelligence was received of the triumph of British power in Egypt, and of the evacuation, by Menou, of the colony. After the death of Kleber, everything had gone badly; and on the landing of an English army, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in March, 1801, the most influential portion of the population rose in open revolt against the French. Several battles were fought, in which victory constantly followed the British standard. Finding himself over-matched, both in skill and numbers, Menou had no alternative but to enter into a convention for surrendering the colony, on condition that the army should be transported to France, with their arms and baggage. Upon learning the fate of Egypt, Napoleon is said to have exclaimed: "There remains, then, no alternative but a descent on Britain;" and an immense flotilla of flat-bottomed boats was prepared in the harbour of Boulogne, while a hundred thousand troops were stationed round the coast of France. These preparations only served to rouse afresh the ardour and animosity of the English people, and render the war more popular than before.

From this period dates the re-establishment of a national religion in France. The want of conformity in matters of faith had long been deplored by all good and patriotic men, among whom the only serious difficulty was, what kind of religion it would be best to establish. Many wished to set aside the authority of the Pope, and establish a Gallican church, of which the First Consul should be the head. Napoleon, however, was averse to this. "I am aware," he said, "that a part of France would become Protestant, especially if I seemed to countenance such a disposition; but the majority would remain Catholic, and struggle, with the fervour of sectarian zeal, against the schism of their fellow-citizens. Religious contests, dissensions in families would ensue; instead of which, by re-establishing the religion which has always reigned in the land, and which still keeps its hold upon the heart, while the minority are left free to exercise their own worship, I shall act in harmony with the nation, and satisfy everybody." In order to carry out this object, Joseph Bonaparte was commissioned to treat with Cardinal Gonsalvi, the plenipotentiary of

Pius VII., on the terms of a special treaty, to restore the Republic to the bosom of the church. This treaty, known as the *Concordat*, was signed by the First Consul on the 15th of August, 1801, and by the Pope shortly afterwards. By this document, the Holy See, among other concessions, relinquished to the French government the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics: in return for which, the Republic recognised the Catholic Apostolical Church as that of the nation, and agreed to secure proper salaries for the prelates and clergy. The measure was received generally throughout France with satisfaction.

The announcement of the re-establishment of the Catholic form of worship was followed by a solemn procession to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, on which occasion Napoleon attended, accompanied by a brilliant staff. Mass was performed, with great magnificence, by Cardinal



Caprara. The oath of allegiance to the Republic was taken by the Bishops; and, after a discourse had been delivered by De Boisgelin, Archbishop of Tours, a *Te Deum* was chanted. There was an over-

whelming congregation ; but the deportment of the majority was not in harmony with the solemnity of the occasion. The talking was sometimes so loud, that the service was interrupted ; and De Bourrienne affirms, that he even saw persons taking luncheon, without paying the least regard to what was going forward. On the return of the procession to the Tuileries, Napoleon asked Augereau what he thought of the ceremony. "It was very fine," answered the blunt Republican ; "there was nothing wanting but the million of men who devoted themselves to death in order to destroy what we are now re-establishing."

In the meantime, the war fever in England had considerably abated. Mr. Pitt had relinquished office, and had been succeeded by Lord Sidmouth, who was known to be more favourably disposed towards peace than his predecessor. As no determinate advantage could accrue to either party from protracting the war, negotiations were again set on foot—on this occasion at the solicitation of England ; and at length Lord Hawkesbury, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, after a long, but secret correspondence with M. Otto, announced, on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and Spain, France, and Holland on the other. This intelligence diffused universal satisfaction all over the kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the First Consul, was brought from Paris to London, by Colonel Lauriston, who, with the French ambassador, was drawn through the streets in his carriage by the populace of that city.

Amiens, the town assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, had been the residence for some months of the ministers of the respective powers. The Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain ; Joseph Bonaparte, Counsellor of State, France ; M. Azara, Spain ; and M. Schimmilpennick, Holland. It was not till March 17th, however, that the long expected treaty was actually signed. The inhabitants of Amiens were apprised of the moment of the signatures being affixed, and were invited to witness the solemnity. The welcome event was announced next day at Paris, by Talleyrand, and proclaimed with the firing of cannon, and every demonstration of joy usual on the receipt of the most flattering and welcome intelligence.

The peace of Amiens opened the continent to British travellers, and Paris was visited by a very great number of Englishmen of rank and distinction, and among the rest, by the illustrious Charles James Fox, who was received by the First Consul, and indeed by the whole French nation, with the highest marks of honour and respect. His arrival in France was announced in the *Moniteur* : even at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were waited on by the Municipality in their scarfs, when, after expressing his congratulations, the mayor enquired of Mrs. Fox, if they would order any particular play for the evening.

At Lisle, Mr. Fox experienced similar attentions, the theatre being illuminated for his reception. At Paris, crowds hastened to hail him: he here received addresses from all the learned and public bodies; he was visited by persons of the greatest celebrity; and his reception at the new French court was perfectly flattering. Napoleon himself lavished the most striking marks of esteem on this distinguished Englishman. Fox was then engaged in writing a History of the Stuarts, and requested permission to inspect the archives of France. The First Consul afforded him every facility for his researches; and received him frequently at the Tuileries, where the conversations that ensued induced mutual respect and esteem. "Fame," said Napoleon,



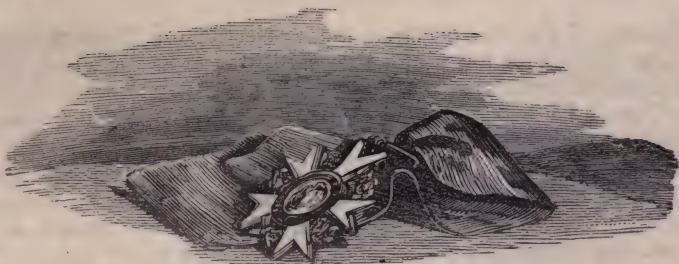
"had informed me of Fox's talents; and I soon found that he possessed a noble character, a good heart, liberal, generous, and enlightened views. I was much attached to him, and considered him an ornament to mankind. In Fox," he added, "the heart warmed the genius, while, in his rival Pitt, the genius withered the heart." In one of their interviews, the First Consul spoke of the *Infernal Machine*, and wished to cast the odium of the attempt on the British ministry, but was rebuked with manly sincerity and warmth. "Pray take that crotchet out of your head," said Fox; who well knew that English gentlemen, Whig or Tory, were quite incapable of lending any countenance to schemes of assassination. "Mr. Fox," says Thiers, "amid all the attentions that were being paid to him, gave expression to a sally which does honour to the sentiments, and to the mind, of this noble individual, and proves that, in his judgment, justice towards France was blended with the most enthusiastic patriotism. There happened to be a very large and very beautiful terrestrial globe, destined for the First Consul, in one of the halls of the Louvre. It was an ingenious piece of mechanism. One of those individuals who were

accompanying the First Consul, turning the globe round, and putting his hand upon England, said, very injudiciously indeed, that England occupied but a very small part upon the surface of the earth. 'Yes,' said Mr. Fox, with warmth; 'yes, it is in this island, this little island, the English live, in this island they wish to die; but,' added he, extending his arms around the globe, 'while they live they fill the entire world with their fame, and embrace it with their power.' The First Consul applauded this reply, so noble, so well-timed."

On another occasion, it is related, that one day Mr. Fox went with his family to see St. Cloud, where there was a private cabinet, which had not been opened for some time, and was never shown to strangers. By some accident, Fox and his wife opened the door and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots, such as Sydney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, Lord Chatham, and among the rest, his own, which was first recognised by his wife, who said, "My dear, this is yours!" This little incident, though trifling, gained Fox great honour, and spread directly through Paris.

The personage who, next to Mr. Fox, most attracted public attention, was M. de Calonne, an *émigré*, formerly minister of finance. It was the Prince of Wales who solicited and obtained for him permission to return to Paris. On his arrival he announced among his friends that it was not his wish to serve the new government, attached as he was to the house of Bourbon. Nevertheless, it was thought that the First Consul would endeavour to gain over to his side a man of such experience and influence; and M. de Calonne was surrounded by a crowd of applicants, who were desirous of bettering their fortunes by taking office, thinking they could not select a fitter introduction to the new government than this distinguished person, in the event of his being employed by Napoleon. But the latter had found an efficient finance minister in Gaudin, and had no need of the services of M. de Calonne.





CHAPTER XIV.

NAPOLEON APPOINTED CONSUL FOR LIFE.—CIVIL CODE.—INSTITUTION OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR.—EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO.—RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS.—WAR WITH ENGLAND.—INVASION THREATENED.—EXECUTION OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN 1082—1804.



LITTLE had been said in the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, concerning the future government of those Italian states which had been erected by France into separate Republics, or annexed to her own territories. It was considered sufficient at that time that their independence was formally acknowledged, without any express stipulation being made respecting them. Napoleon, who had always been looked upon as their Liberator, in January, 1802, summoned a Convention of Italian Deputies to meet at Lyons, for the purpose of assimilating the constitution of the Cisalpine Republic to that of France. The First Consul attended the Convocation in person, where his influence was so great, that he was offered the Presidency of the Republic—not in his capacity as First Consul of France, but as a private individual; an appointment which, as it was likely to second his ulterior views, he eagerly accepted.

The elevation to which he had now attained seems to have had a visible effect upon Napoleon about this time, as it was observed that he assumed a greater degree of reserve, keeping not only his general officers, but his intimate acquaintance, more at a distance than ever. Even in his legislative councils, he began to display some arbitrary feelings; and by that regulation which caused one-fifth of the Legislative body to go out annually by ballot, he contrived to get rid of considerable opposition.

On the 6th of May, 1802, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the French Tribunal, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly, to confer some striking mark of the public gratitude on the "Great Pacificator." This proposal was agreed to, and having received the concurrence of the other Constituent bodies,

the Senate, on the 8th, declared the re-election of Bonaparte to the Consular dignity for ten years, succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. When this proposal was communicated to the First Consul, he declared that "it was the suffrages of the people that invested him with the Chief Magistracy, and that he should not consider himself secure of possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining him in that situation should not be ratified by the public voice." In compliance with his wish, registers were opened in the different departments, for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens; but the question was materially changed; it now stood, "Shall Bonaparte be elected First Consul for life?" A second question was subjoined:



"Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?" Both questions were carried by an immense majority.

In pursuance of the plan proposed by the First Consul, a new constitution was soon after laid before the Legislative Body. It was finally arranged, and accepted in the course of a single sitting, and immediately proclaimed to the people. The Consuls were appointed for life. The First Consul was to present the names of the other two to the Senate, who might reject the first and second so offered, but must accept the third presentation. The First Consul was to name his successor, and to have the power of pardoning in all cases; of making war and peace; and to prescribe to the Senate such subjects

only that they might deliberate upon. To this oligarchal assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases, were to be brought before the tribunals; of dissolving the Legislative Body and the Tribunal.

It was at this period that one of Napoleon's greatest works commenced: the preparation of that admirable code of laws, known at first as the *Civil Code*, and afterwards as the *Code Napoleon*. A commission, composed of MM. Portalis, Tronchet, and Bigot de Préameneu, had first drawn up the outline of the new Code, and this was submitted to all the tribunals, that it might be examined and discussed. The result of this inquiry and discussion was, that the code became modified, and, at length, was submitted to the Council of State, which sat for several months, discussing it article by article. The First Consul attended all these sittings, displaying, when presiding at them, a method, a perspicuity, frequently a depth of views, which astonished every one. The minutes of these remarkable sittings were printed and published, having been first revised by the Consul Cambacérès.

On the 7th of January in this year, a marriage was solemnized between Louis Bonaparte, one of the brothers of the First Consul, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. Napoleon, who was much attached to the children of his wife, had wished to marry Hortense to Duroc, as he knew that an affection existed between them; but Josephine, who no longer entertained any hopes of having children by her second husband, and who seems at this time to have dreaded the divorce which afterwards took place, conceived the idea of marrying her own daughter to one of the brothers of the First Consul, hoping that the children, which might be born from this union, would serve him for heirs. The marriage, which was one of expediency, did not turn out for the happiness of the two concerned; but it was destined to provide a successor to the Imperial throne.

The establishment of the Consulate for life created a change in the aspect of the Court, which was now placed on a more regal footing. The demeanour of the officers of the palace and foreign ambassadors was regulated by the same etiquette as would have been observed towards a sovereign prince; and the Court of Napoleon began to vie with those of the most brilliant periods of French history, in everything but the licentiousness of manners and conversation which had prevailed before the Revolution. An alteration took place in the dresses—sabres and military boots began generally to give place to swords and silk stockings. Hair-powder, bags, and ruffles resumed their sway. The ladies, however, governed in these matters by the excellent taste of Josephine, preserved the graceful and simple costume of the time, in preference to returning to the hoop-petticoats and formal head-dresses of the reign of Louis XVI.

The First Consul appears to have considered his authority incomplete,

whilst any power was left in the state that did not immediately emanate from him; and, ever anxious to aggrandize the army, he now determined upon the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour. To this the Legislature agreed, and that it should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. Each cohort was to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The First Consul was always to be chief of the legion, and of the council of administration, and the members were to be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer was to be five thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty. All military men who had received arms of honour, were members, as well as those citizens who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who had caused the government to be respected. Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul, was elected Grand Master of this new order; and more fully to rivet the interest of government, the members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour were appointed members of the Senate. In fact, to depress the authority of the Legislative body, and to exalt the Senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the First Consul, were the principal objects of Napoleon, by which political liberty was in a great measure annihilated.

De Bourrienne gives the following account of the establishment of the Order: "This idea the First Consul had cherished from the time he had seen stars and orders glitter on the breast, or from the button-hole, of foreign ministers. He used frequently to repeat,—‘That does well. Such things are necessary for the people.’ But his own precipitation had nearly ruined all. On the 4th May, in the Council of State, was first officially proposed, the question of establishing the Legion of Honour; and on the 19th, the decree was legally promulgated. The opposition was very strong; and all the power of the First Consul, the force of his reasonings, the influence of his situation, could obtain in the Council only fourteen out of twenty-four voices. The same sentiments manifested themselves in the Tribunate, where the measure passed only by a majority of fifty-six to thirty-eight. Nearly the same proportion was obtained in the Legislative Body, where one hundred and ten votes voted against one hundred and sixty-six ayes. Thus, in all the three bodies, consisting of 394 voters, the measure was carried by only seventy-eight voices. Struck by this feeble majority, the First Consul said to me in the evening,—‘Ah! I see clearly, prejudices are still too strong. You were right, I ought to have waited. The matter was not very urgent; and it must be confessed, the speakers in favour of the motion made but a poor defence. The strong minority, too, misapprehended me.’—‘Be satisfied,’ said I; ‘doubtless, it would have been better to have deferred; but the thing is done. You will see the result, it must be grand.’”

The new Order was formally instituted on the 15th of May, 1802, when a great number of crosses were distributed to distinguished veterans in the army, and eminent citizens of all professions. One was sent



to Moreau, who, having never regarded Napoleon with affection, was disposed to sneer at the institution. "Does not the First Consul know," he said, when the decoration was presented to him, "that I have belonged to the ranks of honour for these twelve years?" A few days afterwards, it is related of him, that, dining with a company of officers at his own house, he proposed that a saucepan of honour should be voted to his cook, as a reward for his skill in serving up the dishes. This display of jealous ill-humour betokened little dignity of mind in the conqueror of Hohenlinden.

During the summer of 1802, Toussaint l'Ouverture, the celebrated leader of the negroes of St. Domingo, was captured and brought to France. He had incited the slaves of that island to rise against the white population. After a fierce war the blacks were successful; and the French Government recognised their freedom, under certain restrictions. Toussaint, however, was ambitious; and having caused himself to be proclaimed Dictator of an independent Republic, with power to name a successor, he gave offence to Napoleon, who was not prepared to allow such an extent of liberty among the negroes. An expedition, therefore, was despatched against the island, under the command of Le Clerc, which, landing in the early part of 1802, speedily reduced the blacks to submission. Toussaint was made prisoner, and immediately shipped for France. But the negroes were not dispirited by their defeat, or by the capture of their leader; on the contrary, it increased their hatred and desire for vengeance. Soon after the arrest of Toussaint, Le Clerc was carried off by yellow fever; and his successor, Rochambeau, having been reduced to the utmost extremity, was compelled to abandon the colony, and surrender to a British

squadron. The independence of Hayti was formally acknowledged on the 1st of January, 1804. Toussaint, on arriving at Paris, was at first imprisoned in the Temple, but was afterwards conveyed to the castle of Joux, in Normandy, where he died on the 27th of April, 1803, of an attack of apoplexy, brought on by change of climate, and close confinement. The fate of Toussaint bears a marked resemblance



to that of Bonaparte; and at St. Helena, the treatment of the negro chieftain was one of the subjects on which Napoleon thought it necessary to plead his own cause with posterity. It is singular, that in seeking to justify the deportation of Toussaint, it did not occur to him that he was furnishing his enemies with an excuse for their conduct towards himself.

The opening of the year 1803 was marked by a fresh organization of the National Institute, which was divided into four classes: 1st. the Sciences; 2nd. Languages and Literature; 3rd. History and Ancient Literature; 4th. The Fine Arts. This classification deprived the Institute of the moral and political sciences; and was caused by the resentment the First Consul felt at the solitary opposition of a few metaphysicians, who had not scrupled to raise their voices against his plans of government, even in the bosom of the Tribunate; from which moment, Napoleon regarded them as mere idealists. About this time, the First Consul founded various establishments of

great importance ; among others the Military School at Fontainebleau, and the School of Arts at Compiègne.

In the meantime, the relations between the French government and that of England were anything but cordial. The war of words, which finally led to the rupture of the peace of Amiens, had commenced. On the 4th of June, 1802, a dispatch from Mr. Merry, the British minister at Paris, was received by Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, stating that M. Talleyrand had complained to him of the countenance given by the British court to the French princes, the *ci devant* French bishops ; to Georges, and other individuals inimical to the French government ; that it was the First Consul's wish that the British government should remove those persons out of the British dominions ; and he thought the residence of Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw, was the proper place for the rest of the family. M. Talleyrand added, that the First Consul solicited no more than the British government had demanded of France when the Pretender resided in that country.

In the month of July, M. Otto, the French minister at London, transmitted a note to Lord Hawkesbury, demanding, in the name of his government, the punishment of M. Peltier, for a gross libel which he had published on the First Consul and the whole French nation. He also complained of the libellous paragraphs in the *Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, and others by Mr. Cobbett, &c. M. Otto afterwards complained of the French emigrants in the island of Jersey, and solicited their removal, together with the Bishops of Arras, St. Pol de Leon, and others in London, who, under a pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in France. In answer to this he was officially informed, that the British government could not make any concession to a foreign power, which could in the smallest degree be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of the country ; nor proceed against the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol, before any proof had been adduced of their guilt ; but that measures were in contemplation for the removal of Georges, and the lower classes of royalists out of the country ; and in respect to Peltier, his offence was referred to his Majesty's Attorney General. In the mean while, aggrandizement of territory, as well as of influence, was an object which the First Consul always kept in view. In September, the 'Senatus Consultum' at Paris passed an act, by which Piedmont was divided into six departments—the Sezia, the Po, the Doria, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the Marengo.

In the month of October, a dispatch from Mr. Liston, dated from the Hague, was addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, complaining that a French corps of ten or eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remained there. As to the guarantees for Malta, in case of our giving it up, there also seemed to be no small

reluctance in Prussia and Russia. In the mean time, Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuileries, and M. Otto was superseded by General Andreossi at the court of St. James's. Lord Whitworth received a dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury, dated November 30th, 1802, which related to a complaint made against England, of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, that provides for our evacuation of Egypt. On this subject his lordship was instructed to state, that although General Stuart had informed Colonel Sebastiani of his inability to leave Egypt till he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay had arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the General: but to obviate any further difficulties, fresh instructions had been sent to him, directing him to remove the king's troops from that country as soon as possible.

From these, and similar causes of contention still nourished by the enemies of peace, it was easy to see that her olive branch would not wave much longer over the nations that had scarcely begun to experience her blessings. The interval she had this year introduced, was only a pause between the shocks of an earthquake about to renew its devastation.

Even previous to the commencement of 1803, peace might have been seen gradually vanishing from the clouded hemisphere of politics; but now, of its final departure very little doubt remained. A dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 27th of January, consisted of the report of a conversation that had taken place on the Tuesday evening preceding, relative to two points equally important to the maintenance of a good understanding between the two countries. This occurred between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, who pronounced a most bitter philippic against English newspapers, and assured Lord Whitworth that the First Consul was extremely hurt, to find that his endeavours to conciliate, had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase their abuse. To this, his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English papers, might be considered as a retaliation for what was published in those of France. Secondly, that what was officially published in that country, was by no means so in England; the English government could not have any similar control over the papers, as the First Consul had in France; and that till he could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, this state of irritation must remain without remedy. On the subject of the evacuation of Malta, the French minister said, another Grand Master would soon be elected, and that all the guarantees were ready, excepting those of Russia, whose scruples on that point would be easily overcome; consequently, the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for retaining possession of Malta. To this, Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the

English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister, as soon as it was received.

In this answer the British minister was directed to reply, that the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, which stipulated that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent; and that he was warranted in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation to the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, was willing to have waived all pretensions he might have of this nature, if the notice of his government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. His Majesty, therefore, could not regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussions relative to Malta, unless he should obtain satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, of which the King of England complained, had been published in the *Moniteur*. The General had recently been sent into Turkey and Egypt, apparently for the purpose of exciting those powers against England, and exalting the greatness of Napoleon, and, in his account of the expedition, had not failed to use every means to alarm and irritate the English people, who were extremely sensitive on the subject of Egypt.

The English cabinet was at length forced to come to a resolution, and to make known its intentions on the subject of the disputed island. On the 8th of March, 1803, a speech from the throne announced to the British Parliament that in the unsettled state of affairs, the King required additional aid to enable him to defend his dominions, in case of encroachment on the part of France—assigning as a reason that warlike preparations were actively proceeding in that country. "This," says Sir Walter Scott, "by placing the measures of Ministers upon simulated grounds, injured their cause. No such preparations, as were spoken of, had been complained of during the intercourse between the Ministers of France and England;" in fact, none such existed. Napoleon had just been reading a dispatch containing this speech, when, on Sunday, the 13th of March, he had to give audience to the foreign ambassadors at the Tuileries. Lord Whitworth, in a dispatch to his government, thus describes the extraordinary scene that ensued:—"The First Consul accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters two days ago. He immediately said, 'And so you are determined to go to war?'—'No,' I replied, 'we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.'—'We have

already,' said he, 'waged war these fifteen years.' As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed, 'that is already too long.'—'But,' said he, 'you wish me to carry it on for fifteen years more, and you compel me to it.' I told him that was very far from his Majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Court Marcoff, and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, 'The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties. We must henceforth cover treaties with black crape.' He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by saying something personally civil to me—'Why these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I must arm too: if you will go to war, I must go to war also. You may, perhaps, be able to destroy France, but not to intimidate her.'—'We desire,' said I, 'neither the one nor the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her.'—'It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties—woe to those who pay no regard to treaties: they shall be responsible to all Europe.' All this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present." Lord Whitworth added his persuasion, "that there was not a single person in the room, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of Bonaparte's conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on this occasion."

From this period the communications between the two governments were formal and constrained, and limited exclusively to the question of the evacuation of Malta. England lowered her claim of retaining the island in perpetuity, to that of holding it for ten years; but the First Consul would not now consent to any modification of the peace of Amiens. On the 12th of May, Lord Whitworth quitted Paris—passports, without being solicited, being granted at the same time to the French envoys in London. General Andreossi arrived at Dover at the same moment that Lord Whitworth arrived at Calais. The latter was immediately conveyed across the Strait, and hastened to visit the French ambassador, accompanying him to the vessel which was to carry him over to France. The two ambassadors parted in presence of a crowd, agitated, uneasy, sorrowful. "At this solemn moment," says Thiers, "the two nations seemed to bid each other adieu, not to see one another until after a long, tremendous war, and the convulsion of the world."

On the 18th of May the declaration of war was published in the *London Gazette*; but previous to this, orders were issued to seize all French ships in British ports, and upwards of two hundred vessels, containing property to the amount of three millions sterling, were obtained by the English government. This measure, although it was no departure from the usual custom of England on such occasions,

exasperated Napoleon extremely. He considered it to be a base and wanton outrage on unoffending merchants, and, in retaliation, he gave orders to detain all British subjects then in France, of whatever age or condition. As the declaration of war by England had been totally unexpected, upwards of eleven thousand of her people, chiefly of the higher classes of society, were detained as prisoners of war. This unprecedented mode of reprisal has been made a standing reproach to Bonaparte; but he never expressed the least regret for having acted as he did, alleging that he should have been justified in using still greater rigour, in return for the degradation experienced by French prisoners of war, who were sent on board the hulks like convicts. These unfortunate English subjects had to linger out a long captivity, and were not liberated till the termination of the war.

A message from the Consuls on the 20th May, 1803, informed the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunal, of the hostile intentions of the English cabinet, and of the certainty of war. These different bodies replied to this communication by expressing a desire "that the most energetic measures should be instantly taken, in order to make the faith of treaties and the dignity of the French people respected." The address of the Senate was accompanied with the present of a first-rate ship of war, paid for from the resources set apart for the salaries of the members.



General Mortier, who had been stationed with a body of troops on the Lower Rhine, was now ordered to advance upon Hanover, where a considerable force, under the Duke of Cambridge and General

Walmoden, was collected to meet them; but on the approach of the French they had the prudence to withdraw, without hazarding an engagement. The Duke of Cambridge, indeed, at once fled to England, leaving his colleague to settle the business of the campaign, the result of which was very accurately conveyed by the telegraphic despatch of Mortier to the War-office, at Paris:—"The French are masters of the Electorate of Hanover, and the enemy remain prisoners of war." The English ministry exclaimed against this—it being, they said, an unprovoked aggression against a neutral territory; but as the Electorate and its resources had always been made available to the British Sovereigns of the House of Brunswick during former wars, this outrage, as it was called, provoked very little sympathy. It is said that when the convention, known as that of Suhlingen, was presented to George III., the aged king was seized with such a violent fit of passion, that he flung it in the face of the minister who had placed it before him.

Napoleon now prepared, with an appearance of earnestness which he had never before displayed, for a descent on the coasts of England. He caused naval stores to be purchased in Holland, and particularly in Russia, that he might be provided before the latter, whose dispositions did not seem to be very satisfactory, might be induced to refuse to supply him. Flat-bottomed boats of all dimensions were commenced in the basins of the Gironde, the Seine, the Somme, and the Scheldt. Thousands of workmen were employed cutting down the forests along the coasts; and every foundry in the Republic was at work casting mortars, howitzers, and guns of the largest calibre. The inhabitants of Paris saw a hundred gun-boats building along the quays of Bercy, the Invalids, and the Military School. In order to inform himself accurately of the practicability of the contemplated invasion, Napoleon resolved to inspect personally the whole line of coast from Flushing to Antwerp; to visit Belgium and the departments of the Rhine—to make, in short, a military and political tour. Josephine was to accompany him, and share the honours that awaited him. He left Paris on the 24th of June, first proceeding to Compiègne, where there were vessels building on the banks of the Oise; then passing through Amiens, Abbeville, and St. Valéry. The city of Amiens presented to him, according to an old established custom, four pure white swans, which were sent to the gardens of the Tuileries. Napoleon received the authorities and the inhabitants with extreme affability; but his attention was evidently engrossed by the momentous object he at that time had in view. Dock-yards, magazines, stores of all descriptions, exclusively attracted his solicitude. He next proceeded by Montreuil, Etaples, Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, and Calais, to Dunkirk; at each of which places he strictly questioned the most experienced engineers and pilots, carefully noting down their replies. From Dunkirk he went on through the principal towns and seaports to Brussels

and Antwerp, everywhere visiting the workshops and manufactories—commanding repairs, new works, and improvements, with a degree of skill and intelligence that astonished the most experienced engineers. The whole extent of coast presented the appearance of a vast arsenal. The troops seemed formed on the model of the Roman legions: the tools of the artizans replacing in the hands of the soldiers the implements of war. The harbour of Boulogne, the presumed point of departure for the great expedition, was excavated in an incredibly short space of time, so as to be capable of containing upwards of two thousand vessels. Batteries were mounted upon every cape and head-



land, as if the whole line of coast had been that of a beleaguered city. In places where it would have been impossible to build line-of-battle ships, gun-boats and shallops were constructed, on the banks of navigable rivers or canals, and when finished floated to the sea, round the shores of which they crept to the appointed rendezvous, protected by the cannon on land. Large bodies of troops quitted their garrisons, and formed camps on the coast, extending from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme. The divisions of Marmont, Ney, Lannes, Victor, Soult, Davoust, and Junot, covered the plains from the Scheldt to the mouths of the Oise and the Aisne. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed among the officers and men, who waited impatiently for the day of embarkation.

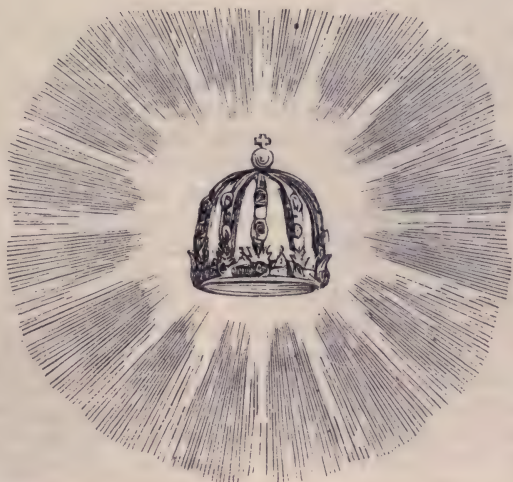
In the meantime, the spirit and enterprise of England seemed to rise in the face of the dangers that threatened her. At no previous period of her history had she manifested capacity to make such a formidable naval and military display. Upwards of five hundred ships of war, of various descriptions and sizes, covered the ocean. Every French port in the channel was blockaded by divisions of the

British fleet, which waited impatiently for the moment when the enemy's vessels should attempt to quit their harbours. The English cruisers, indeed, not content with the mastery of the seas, frequently stood in and cannonaded the fortresses on the coast, and threw shells into Havre, Dieppe, and even Boulogne. On land, the zeal and determination of the English people were equally conspicuous. To nearly a hundred thousand troops of the line were added upwards of eighty thousand militia, well trained and disciplined; and, in addition to this force, there were about three hundred and fifty thousand volunteers, well officered, efficiently equipped, and hearty in the common cause. On every church-door in the kingdom was posted a spirit-stirring call upon all classes to unite in defence of their country, and martial and patriotic songs resounded from every hall and cottage. On a sudden the land seemed converted into an immense camp, and the whole nation into soldiers.

While these active operations on both sides were proceeding, the Royalists—it is said at the instigation of England—again commenced intriguing. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which was the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Moreau. It likewise appeared, to a certain extent, that this general had been made acquainted with Pichegru's views, and that he had held secret meetings with the latter, since his return from England to Paris. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were soon put under an arrest, and the treason against the Consular government announced to the public, in a report to the First Consul, made by Regnier, the minister of justice.

Connected with this conspiracy was the case of Captain Wright, who died in the prison of the Temple, to which Pichegru had also been committed. Wright, while cruising in a corvette in the bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gun-boats; and, having been accused as the officer who effected the landing of the conspirators on the coast of France, he was committed to prison. When some of the persons landed by Wright were taken up and examined, it appeared that one Mussey, who lived at Offenbourg along with the Duke d'Enghien, was very active in sending money to, and corresponding with, those who had been secretly landed on the coasts. Querel, a surgeon, confessed he had been brought from England in Wright's ship along with Georges and several others, and that Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the First Consul. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who had what he demanded, a hundred thousand francs. Georges eluded the vigilance of the police nearly three weeks, and was then betrayed and taken, after having shot one of his pursuers. All his accomplices were afterwards apprehended.

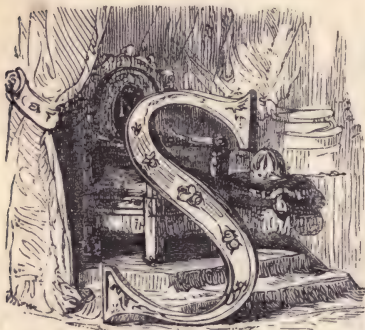
By the confession of some of these conspirators, the authorities thought they discovered that the Duke d'Enghien was an accomplice, and only waiting on the frontiers of France for the assassination of the First Consul, when he was to have entered France as the King's Lieutenant. Accordingly, General Ordener, commandant of the horse grenadiers of the guard, received orders from the minister at war to proceed to the Rhine, to give instructions to the chiefs of gendarmerie of New Brissac, which were placed at his disposal. This general sent a detachment to Ettenheim, where the Duke d'Enghien was arrested on the 15th of March. He was immediately conducted to the citadel of Strasbourg, where he remained until the 18th, to give time for orders being received from Paris. These orders were given rapidly, and promptly executed ; for the carriage which conveyed the unfortunate prince arrived at the barrier at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 20th. It remained there for five hours, and then departed by the exterior Boulevard on the road to Vincennes, where it arrived at night. Every scene of this horrible affair took place during the night—the sun did not even shine upon its tragic close. The soldiers had orders to proceed to Vincennes during the night ; it was at night that the fatal gates were closed upon the prince—at night the council assembled to try him, or rather to condemn him without trial. When the clock struck six in the morning of the 21st of March, the order was given to fire, and the prince ceased to live. The death of the Duke d'Enghien is a deep stain on the character of Napoleon, from which he vainly attempted to clear himself at St. Helena.





CHAPTER XV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE.—IMPERIAL VISIT TO THE CAMP AT BOULOGNE.—
ARRIVAL OF THE POPE AT PARIS.—CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS.
1804.



SOON after the death of the Duke d'Enghien, several ambiguously worded addresses were presented from various bodies in the state to the First Consul, congratulating him on his escape from the dangers that had threatened him, and urging him to perfect the good work which he had commenced. One from the Senate broadly hinted at what, by this time, was well understood to be the desire of Napoleon. "On viewing those attempts," said the President of that body, "from which Providence has saved the hero necessary to its designs, we are struck with one primary reflection, that in the destruction of the First Consul the annihilation of the independence of France has been contemplated. The English and the traitors know that your fate involves that of the French people. Give us, then, institutions so combined, that they may survive you. It is not enough that you found a new era, unless

you render it immortal ; for what is splendour without duration. To you we are indebted for our rescue from the chaos of the past ; to you we are grateful for the blessings of the present : it must be yours, also, to guarantee to us the future."

No answer was returned to this and similar addresses ; but a month afterwards Curée, a member of the Tribunate, spoke out more explicitly on what he conceived to be the popular wish. On the 30th of April, that orator uttered a glowing eulogium on the merits of the First Consul, attributing to him the deliverance of the country from anarchy and from foreign enemies, and asserting that the greatness of France could only be assured by securing his services for the future. " Let us hasten, then," he said, " to dissipate political illusions, by demanding for the nation the hereditary transmission of the supreme magistracy. But at the same time, while we create a great power, let us give it a great name ; and for the guardian of a great nation there is no title more befitting than that of EMPEROR." Curée concluded by moving, that " Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor ; that the Imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family ; and that the National Institutions be definitively settled." The proposal was received with enthusiasm. One after another of the Tribunes made speeches in the same strain ; and a crowd pressed forward to inscribe their assent on the roll in which proceedings were registered. One voice only was heard in opposition—that of the inflexible Carnot. After acknowledging the eminent services of the First Consul, he denounced, in energetic language, the principle of hereditary succession. " Why," said he, " should the fortunes of posterity be committed to chance ? It should never be forgotten that Domitian was the son of the wise Vespasian, Caligula of Germanicus, and Commodus of Marcus Aurelius." He nevertheless concluded his speech by declaring, that although he opposed the alteration of the government on the score of principle and conscience, if the proposal met with the approval of the nation, he should be among the first to yield obedience to its will.

Curée's proposal was afterwards carried to the Senate, which forthwith prepared a *senatus-consultum*, declaring Napoleon " Emperor of the French." The only opponents of the measure in that chamber were Grégoire, Lambrechts, and Garat. This decree was presented at St. Cloud on the 18th of May, by Cambacérès, at the head of the Legislative Bodies. In reply to the addresses of the Second Consul, Napoleon said : " Whatever can conduce to the good of the country, is essential to my happiness. I, therefore, accept the title which you consider useful to the glory of the nation. To the sanction of the people, however, I submit the law of the succession ; and hope that France will never repent of the honours with which she has surrounded my family. At all events, my spirit shall not abide with my posterity, beyond the day on which they cease to deserve the love and confidence

of the Great Nation." The Senate next waited upon Josephine, and congratulated her on ascending the throne she was so well qualified to adorn.

The first act of Napoleon after his elevation, was to nominate his brother Joseph to the dignity of Grand Elector, and Louis to that of Constable of the Empire. Cambacérès was gratified with the title of Arch-Chancellor, and Lebrun was created Arch-Treasurer. On the following day, a grand levée was held at the Tuileries, at which Bessières, in the name of the army, delivered an address to the emperor, who replied with his usual soldier-like dignity. On this occasion the following eminent Generals were named Marshals of the Empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Le Febvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

Napoleon soon had occasion to signalize his attainment to the supreme power by an act of clemency. The sentence of the court of criminal justice, pronounced on the 10th June, 1804, condemned Georges Cadoudal and his accomplices to the punishment of death. General Moreau, protected by the celebrity of his name, and the sympathies of the army, escaped the ignominious death of the conspirators: the court only adjudged him an imprisonment of two years, which was commuted into perpetual exile. But, of the accused capi-



tally condemned, were some men of high birth—MM. de Rivière and de Polignac, among others. The most powerful intercession was made with Napoleon to save them, and the good Josephine undertook

to second the pressing supplications of their terrified families. Under her auspices, Madame de Montesson repaired to St. Cloud, and there presented Madame de Polignac to the Emperor, who came to beg for the pardon of her husband, and that of M. de Rivière. "We succeeded," said the Empress a few days after, "in bringing Madame de Polignac into his presence. My God! how beautiful she was! Bonaparte was touched on beholding her; and said: 'Madam your husband aimed at my life, I can therefore pardon him.'"

The generosity of Napoleon did not stop at those of the condemned whose names had raised powerful intercessions in their favour. A young girl, sprung from an obscure house, did not depart from the palace of St. Cloud, and the presence of the Emperor, less happy than



Madame de Polignac. She had obtained for her brother that which Napoleon had granted to the great lady for her husband. The imperial clemency, invoked with success by MM. de Polignac and de Rivière, was extended also to Lajollais, Bouvet de Lozier, Rochelle, Gilliard, Russillon, and Charles D'Hozier. Georges and his other accomplices were sent to the scaffold. Napoleon wished to save Georges, and attach him to his own person and government. Accordingly, he was offered a free pardon, and the command of a regiment, if he would abandon the cause of the Bourbons. "My companions followed me into France," replied Georges; "I will follow them to death." When led to the scaffold with eleven of his accomplices, he requested as a

favour that he might die first, in order that his companions might have an assurance in death that he would not survive them. Pichegru had anticipated at once his condemnation and punishment by strangling himself in prison. "The execution of Georges," says Napoleon in his *Mémoires*, "will inspire no regret, because assassination, from whatever cause it may arise, will always be odious to Frenchmen. The act of Judith has need of all the power of Scripture, to render it otherwise that revolting." As for the suicide of Pichegru, it need not be considered doubtful, at a time when all the hateful passions of contrary parties and conquered factions, knew so well how to blacken and calumniate the victor. There may even have been some honest men, who allowed themselves to be persuaded that the death of Pichegru had been hastened by the orders of the Emperor. "It would be shameful to defend one's self from it," said Napoleon; "it is too absurd. What could I gain by it? A man of my character does not act without great motives. Have you ever seen me shed blood from caprice? Whatever the efforts which have been made to blacken my life and degrade my character, those who are acquainted with me know that my organization is opposed to crime, and there is not in all my administration one private act, which I could not justify before a tribunal; not only without embarrassment, but even with honour. It certainly is true, that Pichegru saw himself in a desperate situation, without resource. His proud spirit could not look the infamy of punishment in the face. He despaired of my clemency, or disdained it; and he put an end to his existence."

The Count de Lille, who was then at Warsaw, no sooner heard of the assumption of Imperial power by Napoleon, than he addressed a protest to all the courts of Europe against the usurpation, as he styled it, of his right. Fouché had contrived to obtain a copy of this document, which had been privately circulated among the Royalists, and immediately hastened with it to the Emperor. "Ah!" said the latter, when he had read the production, "so the Count de Lille wishes to make his cause good. Well, my right is the will of France; and so long as I have a sword I will maintain it. It is proper, however, that the Bourbons should know that I fear them not. Let this protest be published to-morrow in the *Moniteur*, that the people of the faubourg St. Germain may read it at their leisure, instead of hawking it secretly from house to house." The appearance of the protest in the official paper, added to the fact that Napoleon had been recognised and congratulated as Emperor by nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, attached a character of absurdity to the pretensions of the legitimists.

The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was celebrated a few days afterwards. That Republican fête might have seemed troublesome to a new monarch. It, however, did not prove so to Napoleon, who knew how to avail himself of the recollections of the 14th July,

and to connect them with the institutions he had founded. He chose that day, even, for the first distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, and for the administration of the oath to the members of it. The ceremony took place at the Hospital of Invalids. The Cardinal Du Belloy, archbishop of Paris, at the head of his clergy, received the Emperor at the church-door. Napoleon was followed by the grand dignitaries and principal functionaries of the empire. After divine service, Lacépède, grand-chancellor of the Legion of Honour, made a speech of which the following is an extract:—"On this day, all that the people willed on the 14th July, 1789, exists, by its authority. It has conquered its liberty; it has founded it on immutable laws; it has willed equality; it is defended by a government of which it is the basis. Repeat these words, which have already been uttered, and let them resound to the extremities of the Empire: That which was established by the 14th July, is never to be shaken; nothing of that which it was its object to destroy, can reappear."

After this speech, Lacépède having called on the great officers of the Legion, among whom was seen the Cardinal Caprara, the Emperor covered himself, after the manner of the kings of France, and in the midst of the most profound silence, said, in a firm voice:—"Commanders, officers, members of the Legion, citizens, and soldiers, you swear on your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the Empire, and to the preservation of its territory in its integrity; to the defence of the Emperor, of the laws of the Republic, and of the rights which these have consecrated; to combat, by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorise, every thing which may tend to re-establish the feudal system; in fine, you swear to combine all your power for the maintenance of liberty and equality, the first basis of our constitution. You swear!"

All the members of the Legion exclaimed: "We swear!" and the cries of "Long live the Emperor!" immediately resounded through the arches of the temple. Some crosses were then distributed, and the cortège returned to the palace. M. de Bourrienne declares that it would be impossible to describe the enthusiasm on the occasion.

Two days afterwards, Napoleon left Paris to visit the shores of the Channel, and to inspect the camps which he had formed there. He had announced that the object of this journey was a solemn distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour to the brave men who could not be present at that of the Invalids. It was nevertheless generally believed that this distribution was but a pretext, and that Napoleon had more especially in view the realization of what was considered his favourite project, a descent upon England.

The troops, formed in *échelon* on the shore, extended from Etaples to Ostend. Davoust commanded at Dunkirk; Ney at Calais; Oudinot at St. Omer; Marmont on the frontiers of Holland; and Soult at the general camp at Boulogne. On his arrival at this last mentioned

town, the Emperor found the army full of ardour and enthusiasm. Soldiers and generals believed themselves on the point of embarking, and the inhabitants of the other side of the Channel were no longer without uneasiness. Five hundred sail, commanded by Admiral Verhuel, seemed but to wait the signal to proceed to the ports of Great Britain. Napoleon, alone, knew the secret of the eventual destination of these formidable camps. While really menacing England, he saw new tempests gathering over the Continent; and when he appeared absorbed by the immense preparations of a maritime expedition, it was then, perhaps, that he most actively prepared for the continental war, of which he perceived in the distance the inevitable explosion.

Eighty thousand men from the camps of Boulogne and Montreuil, under the orders of Marshal Soult, were assembled in readiness for the Imperial visit. In the midst of a vast plain, forming a natural amphitheatre, with a slight eminence in the centre, was erected a platform, on which was placed an iron chair, which was formerly the



throne of King Dagobert, an ancient king of the Franks. In clearing the ground traces of a Roman encampment had been discovered; a circumstance which was hailed as an omen that Napoleon, like Cæsar, would become the conqueror of Britain. Some coins of William the Norman were also found at a short distance from the same spot. It has been suggested, with some probability, that the last of these dis-

coveries had been a recent deposit. However this may be, the coincidence increased the confidence and ardour of the soldiers. Ascending the platform, in the midst of his brilliant staff, the Emperor pronounced to the troops the same oath as had been taken by the regiments and legionaries at Paris. The acclamations of the multitude were deafening and continuous; every one present seemed to be transported with joy. Crosses of the Legion of Honour were distributed to a great number of officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves. Most of these veterans, who had served in Italy and Egypt, were known to Napoleon by sight, and many of them by name, and several were called up to receive the decoration from his own hands, when he enquired kindly after their welfare. It was by such means, and by such apparent sympathy, that he won the hearts of his soldiers.

The proceedings of this memorable day were, nevertheless, clouded towards evening by a storm, which, at first, made them fear for a portion of the flotilla. The Emperor, being informed of it, hastened down to the port, to order the necessary measures to be taken, and to preside at their execution. But on his arrival, as if by magic, the wind was lulled, the heavy clouds rolled away, and the sea became calm. "The very elements," said his flatterers, "acknowledge, and are awed by the imperial dignity of Napoleon!" The flotilla re-entered the port in safety, and the Emperor returned to the camp, where the troops soon gave themselves up to all kinds of diversions. The *fête* was terminated by a display of fire-works on the shore, the luminous jets of which were even perceived off the English coast.

During the sojourn of Napoleon at the camp of Boulogne, two English sailors, prisoners at Verdun, escaped and reached Boulogne, where they constructed a little boat, without any other tools but their knives, out of some pieces of wood, which they put together as well as they could, in order to attempt to cross over to England in the frail bark, which one man could easily have carried on his back. Their labour being finished, the two sailors put to sea, and endeavoured to reach an English frigate, which was cruising in sight of the coast. They had scarcely set out, when the custom-house officers perceived them. Being shortly seized and conveyed back to port, they were led before the Emperor, who had demanded to see them, as well as their small vessel, in consequence of the sensation which their daring attempt had made throughout the camp. "Is it really true," asked the Emperor, "that you could have thought of crossing the sea in that?"—"Ah! sire," said they, "if you doubt it, give us permission, and you shall see us depart."—"I will do so willingly. You are bold, enterprising men; and I admire courage wherever it is found. But I do not wish you to expose your lives needlessly. You are free; and more, I will have you conducted on board an English ship. You will mention in London the esteem in which I hold brave men, even though they be my enemies." These two men, who would have been shot as spies if

the Emperor had not had them brought before him, obtained not only their liberty ; Napoleon gave them also several pieces of gold. Later, he was fond of relating this circumstance to his companions in exile at St. Helena.



Amid the active occupations of the camp, Napoleon found time to devote some attention to civil affairs. While at Boulogne he issued a decree for the re-organization of the Polytechnic School. About the same time also, he founded the decennial prizes for the promotion of literature, science, and the arts, and for rewarding eminence in every pursuit. The first distribution of these prizes was fixed for the 18th Brumaire (9th of November) 1809 ; a date which seems to have been fixed out of compliment to those who assisted him to put an end to the anarchy that had grown out of the Revolution.

From Boulogne, Napoleon proceeded to Brussels, where he took up his abode at the palace of Lacken, a residence which he had purchased from the Archduke Charles. He was soon afterwards joined by the Empress Josephine. While here he received a letter from Madame de Staël, in which she expressed an opinion that Josephine was "too meek and peaceful," to be the wife of such a hero, "for whom," said the modest lady, "nature surely intended a soul of fire, like mine." After comparing her idol to a god, who had descended upon the earth, she informed him that her pen and principles were at his service. "Bah !" said the Emperor, when he had read the fulsome epistle, "the woman is certainly mad. What means this vagrancy of the imagination. It is a disorder of the fancy. I cannot endure the woman for thus throwing herself at my head. *She compare herself with Josephine!*" And, crushing the letter in his hand, he thrust it into the fire. Madame de Staël was afterwards informed of the manner

in which Napoleon had received her overture, and her admiration turned to the bitterest hatred; and, becoming involved in some political intrigues, she was sarcastically informed by Fouché, that "the air of France was not good for her health." This hint induced her to retire to Copet, in Switzerland, where she remained until the fall of her divinity.

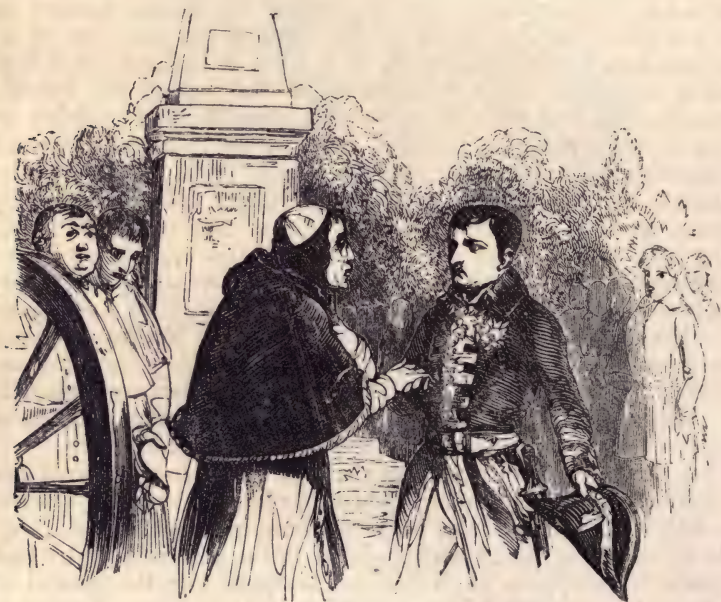
The abode of the Emperor at Lacken was not of long duration. He left that beautiful residence to repair to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he remained for some days; and thence proceeded towards Mayence, traversing Cologne and Coblenz. The princes of the Empire hastened to welcome him; and he profited by the disposition which they manifested to lay the foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which he hoped would eventually furnish a barrier for France against the great powers of the North. While at Mayence he sent one of his aide-de-camps, General Caffarelli, (a brother of him who had been killed in Egypt,) to solicit the presence of the Pope at the Imperial Coronation. It was from Mayence also, that Napoleon directed the sailing of two squadrons, designed to be the first movement towards the threatened invasion of England; one from Toulon, under Admiral Villeneuve, and the other from Rochefort, under Admiral Messiasy.

About the middle of October, the Emperor returned to St. Cloud, having been absent three months. A short time previously he had heard from Caffarelli that Pius VII. consented to undertake the journey to Paris to confirm to him the sceptre of Charlemagne, and consecrate him in his new office. The Emperor Francis, at the same period, addressed a letter to Napoleon, acknowledging his new title, and relinquishing for himself the title of Emperor of Germany—adopting the more modest designation derived from the hereditary States of Austria, a style from which his successors have not deviated.

When the votes of the people on the question of hereditary succession had been collected, it was found that upwards of three millions and a half were in favour, and only two thousand five hundred against the decree declaring the crown hereditary to the descendants, natural, legitimate, or adoptive, of Napoleon Bonaparte, or the natural or legitimate descendants of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte. Francis de Neufchâteau, the president of the Senate, in presenting the address, concluded a highly eulogistic harangue by asserting that the decision arrived at was "the unbiassed act of the people, than which no government could plead a more authentic or higher title." In his reply to this address, Napoleon said:—"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous voice of the Senate, the people, and the army has called me, with my heart feelingly alive to the mighty destinies of that nation, which, from the midst of camps, I first saluted by the name of GREAT. From youth upwards, my whole thoughts have been devoted to them; and I owe it to myself now to declare, that my pleasure and my pains are nothing, save as they reflect the happiness or the griefs of my people.

My descendants shall long preserve this throne, the first in the universe. In camps, they will be the foremost soldiers of the army, laying down their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will ever bear in mind, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, can be the result only of the weakness and the wavering of princes."

The following day, December 2nd, was fixed for the Coronation. Pius VII. left Rome early in November, and arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th. Napoleon, who had got up a hunting party in the direction he was expected to come, met him on the Nemours road. As soon as he perceived him, he dismounted, and the pontiff descended



from his carriage; after embracing each other, they took their seats in the same vehicle, and returned to the Imperial palace of Fontainebleau, which had been newly furnished with great magnificence. The Emperor and the Pope had several conferences in this royal residence; they left it on the 28th, and made their entry into Paris on the same day. There was at first some hesitation about the choice of place for the ceremony to be performed in. Some suggested the Champ de Mars, others the Church of the Invalids; but Napoleon preferred Notre Dame, on account of its historic associations.

The weather on the day of the Coronation was extremely unfavour-

able; snow had fallen the whole of the preceding evening. The assemblage, nevertheless, was immense; never before, perhaps, had the gay capital of France witnessed such an imposing display. The military deputations assembled at six in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries invited by the Emperor, met at the Palace of Justice by seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative body, and the Tribunate, each escorted by a corps of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The Pope left the Tuileries at nine o'clock, and at ten the departure of the Emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery. In getting into their carriage, which was without panels, and looked like a frame-work of carved gold, Napoleon and Josephine at first seated themselves with their backs to the horses, a mistake which, though instantly rectified, passed not unobserved, and was regarded by many as ominous of future evil.

The Pope and the Emperor repaired to the archi-episcopal palace, where his Holiness pronounced the usual prayer, while the Emperor put on the Imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church of Notre Dame. When divine service was finished, Pius blessed the Emperor and Empress, and consecrated their diadems; after which he presented the Imperial crown to Napoleon, who first placed it upon his own head, then removed it to the head of Josephine, and again laid it upon the cushion on which it had been brought from the altar. After some further ceremonies, the Emperor seated himself with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospel, while the Grand Master of the Ceremonies pronounced the oath prescribed, before the three presidents of the Senate, the Legislative Corps, and the Tribunate. After this, the principal herald at arms cried aloud, "The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned!" At this instant the roof of the church of Notre Dame responded with the repeated cries of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Impératrice!*"

On the following day, all the troops then stationed in and near Paris, together with deputations from all the absent regiments, were assembled in the Champ de Mars, in order to receive the eagles of the Empire, in lieu of the colours of the Republic. After a grand review, Napoleon ascended an immense platform, erected in front of the military college. Here he assumed the Imperial robes; and, at a given signal, the whole of the troops moved forwards, and in serried files surrounded the throne. The Emperor then pronounced the following address:—"Soldiers! behold your standards! these eagles will ever prove your rallying point. They will always be wherever your Emperor may judge their presence necessary for the defence of his

throne and people. You swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them; and by your valour to uphold them constantly in the road to victory." The soldiers replied with unanimous acclamations, "We swear!"



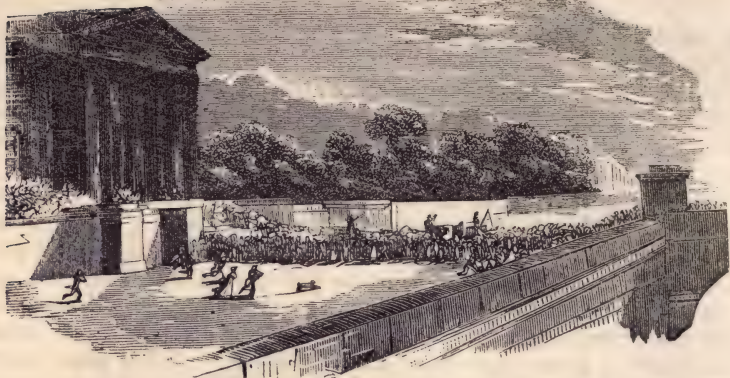
The Pope remained in Paris some time after the Coronation. His Holiness, who had been exceedingly complaisant, seems to have expected something in return for his good offices; and accordingly a request was made for the restoration of Avignon, formerly a domain of the Papal See, and of Bologna and Ferrara. "This," says de Bourrienne, "was really great awkwardness in a court whose policy is usually so fine and so pat to the occasion. Had the Pope, before quitting his own capital, asked, not Avignon, which he certainly would not have obtained, but the Italian legations, he would in all probability have had them restored; but it was another thing after the service had been rendered." The Emperor made Pius many magnificent presents; but, on the demand concerning territory being pressed, Talleyrand was directed to give a positive refusal. This was the beginning of a cold-

ness between the Imperial and Papal courts, which afterwards ripened into hostility.

De Bourrienne, in his *Memoirs of Napoleon*, relates an anecdote of the Empress Josephine, referring to the day of the Coronation, which was communicated to him by the Empress herself, and admirably paints the character of the Emperor:—

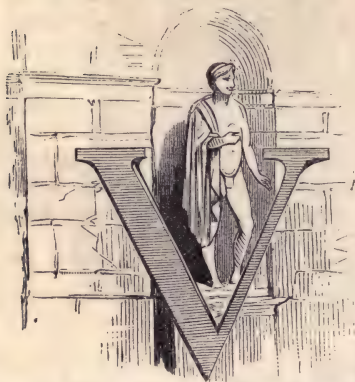
“Many years before, at the time when Bonaparte paid his addresses to Madame de Beauharnais, neither of the parties kept a carriage, and the General, who was most deeply enamoured of Josephine, often gave her his arm, while they made visits to her men of business. On one of these occasions, they went together to the notary Raquideau, one of the most remarkable little men I have ever seen. Madame Beauharnais having great confidence in this *brief-writer*, had gone intentionally on that day, for the purpose of informing him of her resolution to take for better and for worse, the young General of artillery—the *protégé* of Barras. Josephine, alone, had entered the cabinet, leaving the General in the office where the clerks wrote. The door of Raquideau’s private room, having been left ajar, Bonaparte heard him very distinctly using all his endeavours to dissuade his client from the marriage she was about to contract. ‘You are very wrong,’ said he, among other things, ‘and will repent your imprudence; you are going to marry a man who has nothing but *his cloak and his sword*.’ ‘Bonaparte,’ continued the Empress, after having related the foregoing particulars, ‘never spoke to me on this subject, nor had I the slightest suspicion that he had overheard the remarks of Raquideau: only think, therefore, Bourrienne, what was my astonishment, when on the day of the Coronation, in the imperial robes, he said, ‘Call Raquideau; let him come here instantly; I want to speak with him.’ Raquideau was quickly brought before him, whom he then asked—‘Well! now have I nothing but a *cloak and a sword*?’”





CHAPTER XVI.

SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.—LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—REPLY OF LORD MULGRAVE.—NAPOLEON KING OF ITALY.—GENOA ANNEXED TO FRANCE.—ORDER OF THE IRON CROWN.—EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS VICEROY. 1805.



ERY soon after the Coronation, the Emperor opened the session of the Legislative Body. "Princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens," said he, "in our career we have all but one aim—the welfare of the country. If this throne, on which Providence and the will of the nation have seated me, is dear to my heart, it is because it can alone defend and preserve the most sacred interests of the French people. The weakness of supreme power is the

most frightful calamity of nations. As soldier, or First Consul, I had but one thought; as Emperor I have no other—the prosperity of France. I have been fortunate enough to render the nation illustrious by victories, to consolidate her power by treaties, to rescue her from civil discords, and to prepare the regeneration of manners, society, and religion. If death do not surprise me in the midst of my labours, I hope to leave a remembrance to posterity, which shall for ever serve either as an example or a reproach to my successors."

The Minister of the Interior, M. de Champagny, then read a report of the domestic and foreign relations of the Empire, depicting in glowing language the internal prosperity which had succeeded to the

troubles and insecurity under the Revolutionary government. Improvements were everywhere in progress; there was an increased demand for the manufactures, which were also of a higher quality. Roads, bridges, exchanges, marts and public buildings of every description,



had been constructed or planned to facilitate commerce. The Colonies were represented as prosperous, notwithstanding the maritime war; and the diplomatic relations of the Empire as promising peace and friendship with all the powers of Europe, England excepted.

In reply to this communication, the Legislative bodies, in full costume, had an audience with the Emperor on the 2nd of January, 1805, in order to present an address of congratulation. The president, M. de Fontanes, in his speech on the occasion, adopted the ancient formula of "very faithful subjects," which excited the murmurs of many of his colleagues, who had hoped that equality, one of the bases of the Republic, would still have continued to be recognised, at least in appearance. A few days afterwards, a statue of Napoleon, executed by Chaudet, was inaugurated with much ceremony, in the presence of the Emperor and the great officers of State. Many extravagantly laudatory speeches were uttered. M. de Vaublanc and M. de Fontanes seemed to vie with each other which should bend lowliest in homage to the great man.

On the 27th of January, Napoleon addressed a second autograph letter to the king of England. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted on his accession as First Consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction

from the intrigues of cabinets and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. The letter was couched in the following terms :—

“Sir, and Brother,

“Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the Senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages ; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences ? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war ; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear ; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your Majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children ; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and to listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate ? Your Majesty has gained more in ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity ; what can it hope from war ? To form a coalition with some powers of the Continent ? The Continent will remain tranquil : a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles ? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances ? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture, can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies ? The colonies are to France only a secondary object ; and does not your Majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve ?—If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas ! what a melancholy prospect, to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your Majesty will believe the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

“NAPOLEON.”

As it was not customary for an English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French Minister. The Secretary of State for foreign affairs, intimated his Majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe ; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now

made, until communications had been held with the powers of the Continent, with whom his Majesty was engaged in confidential connections and relations, particularly with the Emperor of Russia.

The transmission of Napoleon's letter to the King of England was not known in Paris till the 4th of February; it had been kept a secret between the Emperor and his minister Talleyrand: but the continued silence of the British ministry on the subject having induced the opinion, that the question, not being agreeable, would be decided in the British councils in the negative, Napoleon ordered his minister of foreign affairs to lay a copy of the King's answer to it before the three chambers of the Legislature, together with the evasive communication on the subject. The object which Napoleon had in view, in communicating his correspondence with the King of Great Britain to his Chamber, was to prove to the people, that he had not neglected any means to get rid of the scourge of war. Consequently, his generosity, his greatness of mind, and moderation, were exalted to the skies, and the responsibility of the continuation of hostilities charged upon England.

In the meantime, Napoleon's principal attention was drawn towards Italy, naturally suspecting the first hostilities would break out upon the Adige. The French troops in Italy had orders to keep on the *qui vive*; whilst, to encourage the Italians who had shaken off the Austrian yoke, Napoleon no longer indulged the least hesitation in putting upon his head the iron crown of the kings of the Lombards. In reality, as Napoleon had established royalty in France, he could not think of suffering a Republic to subsist in the north of Italy; and as, during his Consulship, he had prepared the French for an Imperial regimen, he had also brought the Italian Republic into such a state, that it was impossible to preserve its independence. From its first existence, this Republic had been led by him, as it were, in leading strings: but from the moment he was declared Emperor of France, a change in the Italian constitution was to be expected. He now found the title of President no longer in harmony with that of Emperor; and besides, he wished that Italy should be more nearly connected with France than ever. In fact, from the moment he had proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, the change that was intended for Italy might have been expected.

In the beginning of March, a deputation from the Italian Republic arrived in Paris, to consult the Emperor on the propriety of the proposed alteration. Melzi, the vice-president, was at their head. At a public audience given by the Emperor on the 17th of March, the Italian deputy pronounced a speech which terminated with this sentence:—"Sire, you wished for the Italian Republic to exist, and it has existed; desire that the Italian monarchy may be happy, and it will be so." Napoleon listened with complacency to the address, and said in reply:—"Our first wish, while still covered with the blood

and dust of the battle-field, was for the re-organization of the Italian states. You then considered it necessary for your interests that we should become the head of your government; and now, persisting in the same idea, you desire us to become your first King. The separation of the crowns of Italy and France, which might serve to assure the independence of your descendants, would at present be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I will retain this crown, but only as long as your interests shall require it; and I shall gladly see the moment arrive when I can place it on a younger head, which, animated with my spirit, will continue my work, and be always ready to sacrifice his person and interests to the safety and happiness of the people, over whom Providence, the constitutions of the kingdom, and my will, shall have called him to reign."

In a conversation with De Bourrienne, about this time, Napoleon thus unfolded his policy in Italy. "In eight days," he said, "I set out to assume the iron crown of Charlemagne. That, however, is but a stepping-stone to greater things, which I design for Italy, which must become a kingdom, comprising all the transalpine country, from Venice to the maritime Alps. The union of Italy and France can be but transient. For the present, it is necessary, in order to accustom the Italians to live under common laws. The people of Genoa, Piedmont, Milan, Venice, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, cordially detest each other; and none of them could be induced to admit their inferiority. Rome, however, by her situation and historical associations, is the natural capital of Italy. To make it so in reality, the power of the Pope must be restricted to spiritual affairs. . . . When you and I were two idle fellows, strolling through the streets of Paris, a prescient feeling told me that I should one day be master of France. My conduct hence received a direction. It is wise, therefore, to provide for what may come; and this is what I am doing. Since it would be impossible at once to unite Italy into a single power, yielding obedience to uniform laws, I shall commence by making her French. All the petty, worthless states into which she is divided, will thus acquire a habit of living under the dominion of the same laws; and when this habit is formed, and local feuds and enmities become extinct, there will again be an Italy worthy of her olden renown; and her restoration to independence will have been my work."

On the 24th of March the baptism of a second son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense took place at St. Cloud, and was celebrated with great magnificence. The birth of the infant had been attested with all the formalities required by the Imperial constitution in cases of princes of the blood eligible to be called to the throne. The Pope, who was still in Paris, consented to officiate on the occasion. Napoleon was sponsor, and gave the child the name of Napoleon Louis. Little could the Emperor foresee the important part the young prince was destined to play; that, fifty years later, he would re-establish the

Imperial dynasty, and, as Napoleon III., revive the glories of the Empire, after it had been overthrown by the combined efforts of the European powers.



The Emperor and Empress quitted Paris on the 1st of April, attended by a splendid escort, for Italy. They halted at Brienne; and Napoleon revisited the scenes where for six years he had been a plodding and contented student, recalling many a long-forgotten train of ideas and sensations. He had gone by this route at the request of Madame de Brienne, a lady to whom he had been indebted for much kindness while he was yet a boy at school. During the journey, while passing through Lyons, Madame de Bressieux, formerly Mademoiselle du Colombier, his "first love," sought and obtained an audience.

On their arrival at Turin, the Imperial pair were lodged at the palace of Stupinis, the St. Cloud of the Kings of Sardinia. While here the Emperor was visited by the Pope, who was passing through Piedmont on his way back to Rome. They had several conferences together, during which Napoleon gave Pius VII. no more reason than at their conversations at Fontainebleau, to expect any cession of territory in exchange for the holy oil. After remaining three weeks at Turin, Napoleon and Josephine went on to Alessandria, where the former inspected the immense works which had been planned by his directions, immediately after the battle of Marengo. "With Alessandria," he

had then said, "I shall always be master of Italy. It must, therefore, become the best fortified place in the world, and have a garrison of forty thousand men, with provisions for six months. The French troops, in case of revolt, or should the Austrians send formidable armies into Italy, will, if necessary, find a refuge there; and, wherever I may be, sufficient time may be gained to enable me to fall upon Italy, overwhelm the Austrians, and raise the siege of Alessandria."

On the 8th of May, the Emperor, with his staff, visited the field of Marengo, where he reviewed the greater portion of the French soldiers then in Italy. He wore, on the occasion, the hat and uniform which



he had worn on the day of the great victory. "It was remarked," says De Bourrienne, "that the worms, which spare neither the costume nor the bodies of great men, had been busy with these well-saved trophies of the conflict." Before leaving the field, the Emperor laid

the first stone of the monument erected to the memory of Desaix and the brave men who fell on the day of this great battle.

At Milan, the Emperor was received with enthusiastic acclamations by the the authorities of the Republic and the citizens. The general joy exhibited by the Italians was, perhaps, enhanced by the hope that the country, after the vicissitudes to which it had been subjected, was about to obtain restitution of its civil and political freedom, and the direction of its own affairs. The Emperor took up his abode at the splendid palace of Monza, where he received a deputation from the Senate of Genoa, headed by Durazzo, the last of the Doges. He brought a petition praying that Genoa might be re-annexed to France. This Republic had once before, for a short period, been a French province; and the prosperity it had then enjoyed was assigned as the reason for the proposed change. The prayer was immediately acceded to, and the inglorious Doge exchanged the almost regal robes worn by the descendants of Andrea Doria for those of a French senator.

The Coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy took place on the 26th May, in the cathedral of Milan, which, next to St. Peter's at Rome, is the most magnificent ecclesiastical edifice in Italy. Cardinal Caprara, Archbishop of this capital, officiated. He brought the ancient iron crown to the Emperor, who, repeating the part which he had



acted at Paris, placed it himself upon his head, exclaiming: "*Dio mi l'ha dato; guai a chi la tocca!*" (God hath given it to me; woe be to him that touches it)—An expression which, translated into French,

became the legend of the Order of the "Iron Crown," instituted shortly afterwards. This diadem had rested for ages in the church of Monza, and is formed by a circlet of gold and gems covering an iron ring, fashioned from a nail said to have been used at the Crucifixion, and to have been taken from the true cross by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine.

A few days after this ceremonial, and amid the rejoicings which followed, the new King went in state to the Senate, to announce the appointment of Prince Eugene Beauharnais to the Viceroyalty of Italy, the remodelling of the army, and the reorganization of the University of Turin.

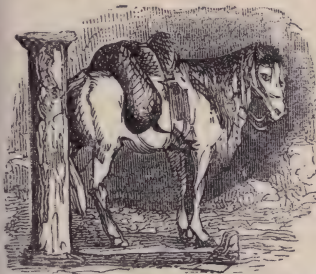
The establishment of the French dominion in Italy was looked upon with the utmost inquietude by the various European powers, and particularly by the cabinets of Vienna and London. Negotiations for a new coalition, the expenses of which were to be chiefly borne by the British people, were at once set on foot, for a combined movement to humble the "Corsican adventurer." Napoleon was well-informed of the intrigues in progress against him, but was in no haste to precipitate events; and took no public notice of the intelligence he had secretly received. About this time the monument to Desaix, on the top of Mont St. Bernard, was ordered to be erected, under the superintendence of Denon. Napoleon then visited Genoa, where he slept in the Doria palace, on the same bed in which Charles V. had reposed several ages before. After a short stay in this city, the Emperor and Empress resumed the road to France, and arrived, on the 14th of July, at Fontainebleau, repairing thence to Paris and St. Cloud.





CHAPTER XVII.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.—NAPOLEON JOINS THE ARMY.—BRIDGE OF LECH.—ULM.—CAPTURE OF VIENNA.—AUSTERLITZ.—TREATY OF PRESBURG. 1805.



LITTLE doubt now existed of the hostile intentions of the great powers towards France. The Russian autocrat, in particular, was desirous of obtaining celebrity in Europe, and of giving occupation to some of the numerous hordes which were subject to him, for the purpose of preventing the growth of liberal opinions, and consequent discontent, among them.

England, by her liberal offers of gold to equip the troops of the allies, and to furnish the munitions of war, was the prime mover of the confederacy.

About the time that the Emperor Alexander had signed the new treaty with the English government, he sent a plenipotentiary to Berlin, and another to Vienna, to support the interests of England, and to induce Austria to enter into the third coalition against France without delay. The ambition of Napoleon was painted in the most glowing colours, sufficient to alarm the Emperor Francis. The Chief of the French government was represented as crowned with the diadem of Charlemagne, and at the head of a numerous army ready to require, by force of arms, the faith and homage of all the liege sovereigns of Europe. This consideration, joined to the offer of subsidies on the part of England, fixed the resolution of the Emperor Francis; and whilst the ambassador from the court of Vienna at Paris declared officially to Napoleon that his master entertained the most pacific intentions, and cordially wished for the renewal of negotiations tending to re-establish a maritime peace, the ambassador from the same court at St. Petersburg acceded, in the name of his sovereign, to the coalition formed between England, Sweden, and Russia, to attack France.

Though Napoleon was by no means the dupe of this diplomatic conduct, and similar representations that followed, he still thought he had time enough left to renew the alarms that had been excited in England by his preparations at Boulogne. The season of the year most favourable for such an attempt was approaching; all the vessels were collected, and both soldiers and sailors were anxious to be conducted towards the British shore. Resolving upon another visit to the coast, Napoleon left Paris on the 2nd of August, 1805, for the camp of Boulogne, where his appearance produced all the effect he had anticipated. The British ministry, alarmed at the state of the public feeling at home, ordered their agents at the court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government, that it was necessary they should commence immediate hostilities against the French, or give up the expectation of receiving the promised subsidies. It was in vain that the Emperor's ministers represented that their master was not yet ready; that it was necessary to await the arrival of the Russians, and their junction with the Austrian armies. England persisted in her demands, and the Emperor was forced to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign.

Affairs were proceeding in this indeterminate course till the month of September, when M. de Cobentzel, who was still at Paris, thought it convenient to throw off the vizard altogether. The intelligence had just arrived that the territory of Bavaria had been violated by the Austrian General Mack. Napoleon immediately made it known to Count Cobentzel, that no negotiations could now be admitted, until the Austrian troops had evacuated Bavaria, and re-entered their own dominions. Count Cobentzel answered, that it was his master's firm intention to maintain himself in Bavaria, and to push his army forward to the Lech, which, he observed, would be but a trivial indemnification for the usurpations of the sovereign of France in Italy. He added, that three corps of the Russian army would shortly enter Germany, to support the just rights of Austria; and that if France wished to preserve peace, it was necessary to accept the proposals that had been previously made.

But whilst these transactions were passing in Germany, Napoleon was by no means inactive. Accordingly, whilst he was last at Boulogne, he seemed suddenly to have altered his plans: he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. A rupture having now become unavoidable, the Elector of Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was called upon by Austria to incorporate his troops with the Austrian army, which not being agreed to, the latter in full force passed the Inn, in September, and treated the Elector's territory as a conquered country.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of these proceedings, the Senate was convened, and, in a speech from the throne, the Emperor informed them that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate relief to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, and the Elector had actually been driven from his territories. He next exhorted the French people to support him in the present unprovoked contest; and concluded by saying, "Frenchmen, your Emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours." On this occasion two decrees were passed, the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and embodying the National Guard. Having formed these arrangements, he appointed Joseph Bonaparte to superintend the government in his absence, and the next day he left Paris for Strasbourg.

Before Napoleon quitted the capital, he announced his intention of putting himself at the head of his legions; and charged the Minister of Foreign Affairs to give an account of all his proceedings and negotiations for the preservation of peace. This was communicated in an extraordinary sitting of the Senate, held on the 23rd of September. The Emperor quitted St. Cloud on the 24th of September, and



arrived at Strasbourg on the 27th, where he awaited the arrival and concentration of the troops that were to form the grand army that he intended to conduct into Germany.

Napoleon's plan for opening the German campaign was of a masterly character. In order to avoid the inconveniences of passing through the Black Forest, he resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and passing that river below the position of the Austrians, place himself between them and the Russians. As it was necessary that this project should be executed with the utmost secrecy and rapidity, Prince Murat was ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to induce the Austrians to believe the French meant to force a passage in that direction. General Mack fell into this snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose Murat. At length he discovered his error, and was suddenly compelled to change all his plans. In the meanwhile the French had traversed the electorate of Wirtemberg and the plains of Nordlingen with the greatest rapidity. On the 7th of October an engagement took place at the bridge of Lech, which was gallantly but vainly defended by the enemy. Colonel Wattier, at the head of two hundred dragoons, chased the Austrians, whose number greatly exceeded that



of their opponents, from the river, and left a free passage for the French across the Danube. On the 16th, Marshal Soult arrived at the head of his division on the Danube at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. Marmont, having unexpectedly penetrated through the Prussian territory of Anspach, soon after arrived with Bernadotte and his division at Ingoldstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign appeared to be decided. The Austrians under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men, while a French force nearly double that number was posted in his rear, and his communications with the Austrian states nearly cut off.

On the 8th, at day-break, Prince Murat, at the head of Beaumont's and Klein's divisions of dragoons, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers commanded by General Nansouty, marched to cut off the

route from Ulm to Augsburg. On his arrival at Wertingen, he perceived a considerable division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of cuirassiers. He immediately surrounded the whole of this corps. Marshal Lannes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinot, and after an engagement of two hours, the whole division, standards, cannon, baggage, officers, and soldiers, were taken. There were there twelve battalions of grenadiers, who had marched in great haste from the Tyrol to the assistance of the army of Bavaria.

In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army, commanded by Generals Duroc and Verden, took their position at Ingoldstadt. The Imperial guard, commanded by General Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburg; as likewise the division of cuirassiers under the command of General Hautpoul. Prince Murat, with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zumnershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg. Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zumnershausen.

The rains did not retard the forced marches of the grand army. The Emperor set the example, and was on horseback night and day; he was continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence was necessary. On the 9th of October, he rode fourteen leagues in dreadful weather. He slept in a small village without servants, and without any kind of baggage. Pressing onward, he caused the divisions of the army, as he overtook them, to pass in review before him. At the village of Zumnershausen, when the dragoons filed past, a soldier named Marente, who had saved the life of his captain at the bridge of Lech, was presented to the Emperor. The man had been a sub-officer, and had been degraded into the ranks a few days previously. Napoleon conferred upon him the Eagle of the Legion of Honour, at the same time complimenting him on his courage and good feeling. "I did no more than my duty," said Marente; "my captain had certainly broken me for some faults of discipline, but he knows that I have always been a good soldier."

The combat at Wertingen was followed in twenty-four hours by an action at Gunsburgh. Marshal Ney had caused his troops to advance—the division of Loison towards Langenu, and the division of Malher to Gunsburgh. The enemy, who endeavoured to oppose their march, were everywhere defeated. It was in vain that Prince Ferdinand hastened in person to defend Gunsburgh; General Malher attacked him with the 59th regiment. The battle was most obstinate—they fought man to man. Colonel La Cuée was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, carried

the bridge by main force: the cannon which defended it were taken, and the fine position of Gunsburgh remained in possession of the French.



The battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult arrived on the 13th before Memmingen, immediately surrounded the town, and after some negociation, the cammandant capitulated. Nine battalions were taken prisoners; a major-general, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of baggage and ammunition of every kind, was the result of this affair. At the same time, Marshal Soult marched for Ochsenhausen, for the purpose of reaching Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat which lay open to the Archduke Ferdinand. On the 19th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont. This battle was a most obstinate one. Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took fifteen hundred prisoners. On the 13th, the Emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. On the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge, at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen with sixteen thousand men; they were everywhere overthrown, lost three thousand men, who were taken prisoners, and were pursued to their intrenchments. On the 14th, General Marmont

occupied all the communications of the enemy on the Iller. On the 15th, at day-break, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Prince Murat, and those of Marshal Lannes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to force the entrenchments of the enemy. The day was dreadful: the troops were up to their knees in mud. The Emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days. The Austrian Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town, and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken. Marshal Soult took possession of Biberach on the 15th, while Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, who were in a dreadful state of dissolution. Out of an army of eighty thousand men, only twenty-five thousand remained. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of General Kienmeyer, and took some waggons and prisoners from him.

The appearance of the army was most deplorable. For two days the rain fell in torrents; the army was dripping wet; the soldiers had no provisions distributed to them; they were up to their knees in



mud. But the Emperor infused fresh spirits into them; and at the moment he perceived whole columns in this state, he ordered "Long live the Emperor!" to be cried.

The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech, the same day, at half-past three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th. On the same day he was master of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm, when the terms of capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march

out with the honours of war, and, after filing off, to lay down their arms. The field officers were permitted to return home on their parole; but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. He took from the enemy at Wertingen, Gunsburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albeck, Langenan, and Neresheim, forty thousand men, more than forty stands of colours, a great number of cannon, baggage waggons, &c.; and to accomplish all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed. In these partial actions, the loss of the French army amounted to no more than five hundred killed, and a thousand wounded.

On the 20th of October the Emperor took his station, from two o'clock in the afternoon to seven in the evening, on the heights near Ulm, where the Austrian army filed off in his presence. Thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, surrendered to the victorious army. The Emperor, surrounded by his life-guards, sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them with him until their troops had filed off. He treated them with the utmost distinction. There were present, besides the General-in-chief Mack, eight generals, and seven lieutenant-generals.

A fresh proclamation to the army was published at the head-quarters of Elchingen, on the 21st October; it ran thus:

“Soldiers of the Grand Army,

“In fifteen days we have made a great campaign. That which we proposed doing, is accomplished: we have driven the troops of the house of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his estates. Yonder army, which with equal ostentation and imprudence, took up its position on our frontiers, is destroyed. But what matters this to England? her object is attained. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidies will be neither more nor less.

“Of a hundred thousand men, who composed this army, sixty thousand are prisoners. They will replace our conscripts in the cultivation of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety flags, the most celebrated generals of the enemy, are in our power; not fifteen thousand men of this army have escaped. Soldiers! I announced to you my expectations of a great battle; but, thanks to the unskilful combinations of the enemy, I have been enabled to obtain the same success without running equal chances; and what is almost inconceivable in the history of nations, so great a result has only placed fifteen hundred men *hors de combat*.

“Soldiers! This success is due to the unlimited confidence reposed by you in your Emperor, to your patience in supporting fatigues and privations of all kinds, to your rare intrepidity. But we will not end here. This Russian army, which English gold has brought from the extremities of the universe, shall shortly meet with the same fate. The honour of the infantry is especially attached to this battle; there must be decided for the second time that question which has already

been determined in Switzerland and Holland, whether the French infantry is the first or the second in Europe. There are no generals against whom I can acquire glory. My sole care will be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood. My soldiers are my children."

It is scarcely possible to appreciate properly the excitement wrought among soldiers by such an address, from a leader like Napoleon. Every man became a hero in his own opinion, and was thus prepared for achievements, which he would formerly have shrunk at the mere recital of. The proclamation was followed by a decree, ordering that the month elapsed, from the 23rd of September to the 24th of October, should be considered a campaign by the whole army.

The Emperor, having gained intelligence of the advance of the Russians, who had already entered Lintz, quitted Augsburg, and hastened to Munich, which he entered on the 24th, amid the rejoicings of the populace, who had illuminated the city on the occasion. The French now pressed on into the heart of Germany, crossing the Iser by all the bridges along their line, and approached rapidly the Inn. Napoleon himself took the road to Muhlendorf, whence the Russians had retreated, on hearing of the fall of Ulm, destroying in their flight all the bridges. The French, however, were prepared for greater obstacles than this, and continued their march with little delay, cautiously following the route of the retiring foe. At Lintz, the Emperor was visited by the Elector of Bavaria and his son; and while here he received accounts of the operations of the other divisions of the army.

Two days after the surrender of Ulm, Murat, with his division, invested Trochtelfingen, which was soon compelled to capitulate. Massena, after some fighting in Italy, crossed the Adige at Verona, obtained possession of St. Michel, and, pursuing his successes, attacked and defeated the Archduke Charles at Caldiero, where the latter had taken up a strong position, compelling him to a precipitate retreat through the mountain passes of Carinthia into Hungary. At the same time the Archduke John was closely pressed in the Tyrol by the intrepid gallantry of Ney, who, having led his army into that mountainous country by paths hitherto considered impracticable, had obtained possession of the fortresses of Schwartz and Neustadt, and was investing Innspruck. Under these circumstances Prince John hastily retreated, with all the forces he could save, in order to unite them with those of Prince Charles in Hungary.

The combined Austrian and Russian armies were now in full retreat, and scarcely ventured to halt for rest or refreshment. Their march was directed towards Moravia, where the Grand Russian army, with the Emperor Alexander, had now arrived; and where it seemed to be the purpose of the allies to unite for a great and final effort. An attempt was made to save the Austrian capital, by calling upon the citizens to rise *en masse*; but it was discovered that the fortifications

were in such a defective state, that no effectual resistance could be calculated on. The Emperor Francis with his family, therefore, quitted Vienna on the 7th of November to place themselves under the protection of the Russians. A last feeble hope lay in the chance that Napoleon might be induced to negotiate; and Count Giulay was sent with a flag of truce to Lintz, to propose an armistice, previously, it was urged, to negotiating for a general peace. But the artifice was too transparent; time was wanted to allow the two Archdukes to form a junction with the Russians beneath the walls of Vienna. Napoleon, therefore, refused to suspend his operations, observing that the preliminaries of peace might be arranged while both parties were fighting.

The French continued to advance, gaining several minor victories in their progress, at Marienzel, Merhenbach, Lambach, Lovers, and Amstetten. At Dernstein, however, the division of Marshal Mortier encountered a large body of Russians and Austrians, and received a severe check, losing a large number of men, and three eagles. This was the first reverse the French had experienced during the campaign, and it annoyed the Emperor exceedingly. On the 13th of November, the advanced guard of the Grand Army reached the suburbs of Vienna, and took possession of all the roads leading to the city, which was entered without opposition on the following day. Napoleon at once established his head-quarters at the palace of Schonbrunn, whence he issued orders for concentrating all his forces, which henceforth directed their march upon Vienna from every quarter, in order that they might be prepared to act decisively against whichever portion of the enemy might be most within reach, or the defeat of which would offer the most advantage. The day after the occupation of the Austrian capital, the authorities of the city, with M. de Bubna at their head, repaired to Schönbrunn to present the submission of the inhabitants to the victor, and to petition for clemency in his administration. Napoleon received the deputation kindly, and forthwith issued a proclamation, in which he commanded the soldiers to preserve the strictest discipline, and to respect the persons and property of the citizens. A few days previously he had performed an act of generosity which deserves to be recorded, as it illustrates the character of the man. Just before his entrance into Vienna, Napoleon, riding along the road, dressed as usual in the uniform of a Colonel of the Guard, met an open carriage in which was a lady weeping, and an aged ecclesiastic. The Emperor halted, and enquired of the lady the cause of her tears. "My country-house," she replied, "about two leagues hence, has been pillaged by soldiers, who have murdered my gardener. I go to seek the Emperor, who knew my family, to solicit his protection." Napoleon asked her name. "De Bunny," was the reply. "I am the daughter of M. de Marboëuf, formerly governor of Corsica." "I am delighted, Madame," returned the Emperor, at the same time informing her who he was, "to have it in my power to render you a

service. Be pleased to wait for me at head-quarters, where I will see you presently. All who are of the family of De Marbœuf have a right to my regard." A picquet was assigned to escort the lady; and the Emperor, after expressing his deep regret for the annoyances she had sustained, hastened forward to give directions for tracing and punishing the delinquents. On his return, Madame de Buny was honoured with the most marked attention, and, when she departed, her losses were indemnified with the most princely munificence.

Napoleon well knew that the occupation of Vienna would be of little use, without it was followed up by the defeat of the Russians, and of the army of Prince Charles. He therefore appointed General Clark governor of the capital, and left Mortier and Marmont to protect it, while he advanced in person, with the divisions of Murat and Lannes, towards Moravia. On the 15th, the advanced guard overtook the rear of the retreating Russian army at Hollabrunn, where a contest took place, which resulted in the repulse of the French, although their opponents were unable to make a stand, and continued their flight. On the following day, another indecisive battle was fought at Juntersdorf, between Soult and the Russians.

In the meantime, Marshal Ney, charged with invading the Tyrol, acquitted himself of his mission "with his accustomed intelligence and intrepidity," as it is expressed in the twenty-fifth bulletin. After possessing himself of the forts of Schwartz and Neustadt, he entered Innsbruck on the 16th November, and found there sixteen thousand muskets, with an immense quantity of powder. Among the brave regiments of his detachment, none had more distinguished itself during the campaign than the 76th, which had lost two flags during the last war, for which they had felt the deepest affliction. These flags were found again in the arsenal of Innsbruck. An officer recognised them; and, when Marshal Ney had them restored to the regiment with becoming solemnity, tears gushed from the eyes of all the veteran soldiers, whilst the young conscripts prided themselves on having contributed to re-conquer these ensigns, the loss of which had cost their comrades so much regret. The Emperor, informed of this touching scene, ordered the recollection of it to be preserved by a painting.

On the 17th, Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim, at which place the Russian rear-guard, retreating towards Brunn, had left their sick. In constant pursuit of the enemy, Prince Murat entered Brunn on the 18th of November. The Emperor's head-quarters were then fixed at Pohorlitz, but were again transferred to Brunn on the 20th. On the 27th, upon receiving the full powers of MM. Stadion and de Giulay, the Emperor proposed an armistice, in order to spare the effusion of human blood. But he soon perceived that they had other projects; and as their hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Russians, he easily conceived that the

second and third armies being arrived, and near Olmutz, the proposed negotiations were only a *ruse de guerre*. Accordingly, on the 29th of November, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wischau, and took fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city.

Napoleon's plan from that moment was to wait for them, and to watch the most favourable moment for action. He therefore ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had actually been defeated; took a good position three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation at fortifying it, and raising batteries. He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aide-de-camp Prince Dolgorucki. The placing of strong guards, the hastily constructed fortifications, all misled and made the Russian officer believe he beheld an army half beaten.



Everything seemed to favour the Emperor's project; and early on the morning of the 2nd of December, with great joy, he saw from the heights the Russian army beginning a movement, within twice the distance of cannon shot, to turn his right. He said several times, "Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was different; they appeared before the French posts within pistol shot. By a flank march they defiled upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which

seemed afraid of quitting its position, the Russians appeared to have but one fear, and this was, that their enemy should escape. Everything was done which could favour this deception. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but all at once it seemed astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste.

At night the Emperor, on foot and incognito, visited all the posts, but was almost immediately recognised by the soldiers, who placed lighted straw upon long poles, and eighty thousand men joined in saluting the Emperor with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquette* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself: I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers, that you shall have only to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

Omitting the previous disposal of the different corps, for the sake of brevity, we avail ourselves of the words of the celebrated bulletin of this day, dated Austerlitz, December 3rd.

"At one in the morning, the Emperor got on horseback to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it. Day dawned at length on the 2nd, the sun rose bright, and the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, was one of the finest days in autumn.

"This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the three Emperors, which others call the day of the Anniversary, and which the Emperor named the battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the Great Nation. The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays, the orders were issued, and each Marshal joined his corps, at full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments: 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and instantly hats were placed at the points of bayonets, and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' were the signal for battle. A moment afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the fight, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the enemy short, and the battle began. Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's

divisions, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry. The left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward also, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line; two hundred pieces of cannon, and nearly two hundred thousand men, made a dreadful noise: it was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off; their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who marched immediately to the Emperor of Russia's guard, to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the Imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and routed; but the Emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right, with his Invincibles, and the two guards



were soon engaged. Success could not be doubtful—in a moment the Russian guard was routed; colonel, artillery, standards, and every thing were taken. The regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine

was annihilated; he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse.

“From the heights of Austerlitz, the two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard. At the same moment the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry; the left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, made several. All the charges were victorious. General Caffarelli's division distinguished itself. The cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries. At one o'clock the victory was decided; it had not been doubtful for a moment; not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted nowhere; a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat and near a lake. The Emperor hastened thither, with twenty pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position, and we saw the horrid spectacle, such as was seen at Aboukir, of twenty thousand men throwing themselves into the lake. Two columns of Russians, four thousand each, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. All the enemy's park of artillery is taken.

“The result of this day is forty Russian standards, among which are the standards of the Imperial guard; a considerable number of prisoners—the *état-major* does not yet know how many—we have already an account of twenty thousand; twelve or fifteen generals; at least fifteen thousand Russians killed on the field of battle. Though we have not yet had the report, we may, at the first glance, estimate our loss at eight hundred killed, and fifteen or sixteen hundred wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a rout that men are lost; and no other corps but the battalion of the 4th was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, wounded at the beginning of the battle, remained the whole day on the field; he covered himself with glory: generals of division, Kellerman and Walther; generals of brigade, Valhabert, Thiebault, Sebastiani, Compan, and Rapp, the Emperor's aide-de-camp. It was the latter who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guard, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the Imperial guard of Russia. With respect to the men who distinguished themselves, it was the whole army that covered themselves with glory; it constantly charged to the cry of ‘*Vive l'Empereur!*’ and the idea of celebrating so gloriously the coronation, animated the soldiers. The French army, though fine and numerous, was less numerous than the enemy's army, which was a hundred and five thousand strong—eighty thousand Russians, and twenty-five thousand Austrians: the half of this army is destroyed; the rest has been completely routed, and the greater part threw away their arms.

“In a more detailed relation of this battle, the staff will make known that which each corps, each officer, each general has done to

render the French name illustrious, and to afford proof of their love to the Emperor."

After pursuing the enemy, Napoleon passed over the ground on which his victorious troops had fought. It being already dark, he enjoined silence on all around, that the cries of the wounded might not escape his ear; and when a sound of pain was heard, he immediately alighted, and ordered brandy to be given to the sufferer. The whole of the night was passed by his escort on the field of battle, who removed the cloaks from the dead to cover those in whom life still remained. Fires were kindled on the spot where the wounded lay, and the soldiers of the guard were directed not to retire till every wounded soldier was lodged in a hospital. The men loaded him with blessings, "which," says Hazlitt, "found the way to his heart much better than all the flatteries of courtiers. He thus won the affections of his soldiers, who knew that when they suffered it was not his fault, and who, therefore, never spared themselves in his service." It was past midnight when Napoleon arrived at Brunn. He immediately issued orders for Davoust to collect his corps, and pursue the Russians, who were in full retreat on the following day. Berthier was directed to ascertain the actual losses in the engagement, to visit the hospitals, and, in the name of the Emperor, to present every wounded soldier with a napoleon, as the piece of twenty francs was then called, and to distribute among the officers gratuities, varying from five hundred to three thousand francs, according to their rank.

The day after this great battle, at day-break, Prince John of Lichtenstein, commanding the Austrian army of Moravia, presented himself at the head-quarters of the Emperor Napoleon, established in a barn. He came to solicit an interview for his master, who was forced to throw himself upon the moderation and generosity of the conqueror to save his crown and dominions from the usual results of conquest. Napoleon acceded to his demand, and the interview wished for by the vanquished monarch, took place the same day, at the tent of the victorious hero. "I receive you in the only palace which I have inhabited for two months," said Napoleon to the Emperor Francis; and the latter immediately replied, with a forced smile: "You turn your habitation to such good account, that it ought to please you." In a few hours, an armistice was arranged, and the principal conditions of the peace determined on. The Emperor of Austria, yielding to circumstances, applied himself to fan the agitation of the conqueror against the English: "These are merchants, indeed!" he affectedly exclaimed; "they set fire to the continent, in order to ensure themselves the commerce of the world." He spoke also in the name of the Emperor of Russia, who, he said, would abandon the English alliance, and wished to make peace separately. Napoleon did not abuse the advantage which the events of the preceding day had accorded him. He promised to suspend the march of his columns, and to let

the Russian army pass, if Alexander would engage to return to his dominions, and evacuate Austrian and Prussian Poland. The Emperor Francis gave this assurance in the name of Alexander, and afterwards retired, accompanied by his escort. Napoleon accompanied him to his carriage, and returned to sleep at Austerlitz. He said on quitting the Austrian monarch: "This man has made me commit a fault, for I could have followed up my victory, and taken the whole Russian and Austrian armies; however, it will cause some tears less to be shed."

Napoleon had spoken to his soldiers, on the evening preceding the battle, to inflame their courage, and presage to them the victory; he did not forget to address himself to them again after the fight, to felicitate them upon having so nobly contributed to verify his prediction. "Soldiers," he said to them, "I am satisfied with you! You have, on this day of Austerlitz, justified all which I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with an immortal glory. When all that is necessary to assure the happiness and prosperity of our country is accomplished, I will lead you back to France. There, you will be the object of my tenderest solicitude. My people will joyfully see you again; and it will suffice for you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' for them to reply: 'Here is a brave man.'"

An aide-de-camp of Napoleon, General Savary, had accompanied



the Emperor of Germany, to ascertain if Alexander would accept the engagements made in his name. The Czar hastened to ratify the assurance given by his august ally; and afterwards said to the French envoy: "You were inferior to me, and yet you were superior on all

the points of attack.”—“Sire,” replied Savary, “it is the art of war, and the fruit of fifteen years of glory; it is the fortieth battle which the Emperor has fought.”—“That is true,” replied Alexander: “he is a great soldier. For me, it is the first time that I have seen fire. I have never pretended to measure myself with him. I am going to my capital. I came to the assistance of the Emperor of Germany; he has informed me that he is satisfied; so am I.”

The armistice agreed to on the 3rd of December between Napoleon and the Emperor of Germany, received, on the 6th, an official form, and was signed by Marshal Berthier and Prince John of Lichtenstein; and the latter and Talleyrand were directed to repair to Presburg, to arrange the definitive conditions of a general pacification.

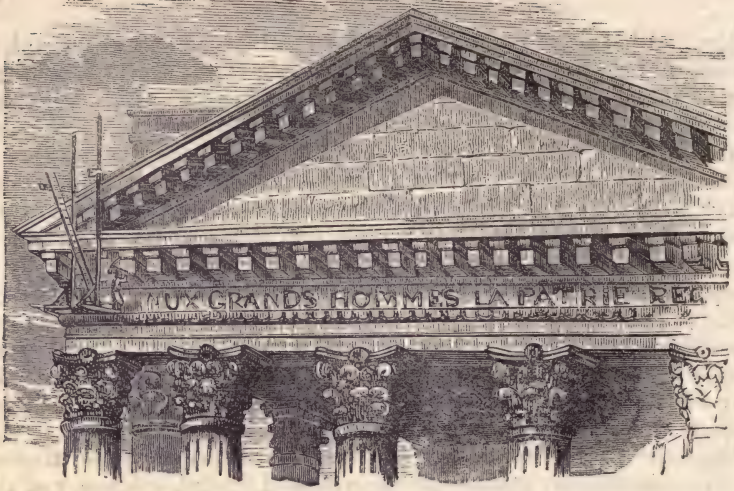
On the 13th of December, Napoleon returned to Schonbrunn. He there received the deputation from the mayors of Paris. The Mayor of the seventh *arrondissement* was the spokesman. The Emperor announced to them the approaching conclusion of hostilities, and charged them to convey to Paris the flags taken at Austerlitz, and destined for the church of Notre Dame. He wrote at the same time to the Cardinal-archbishop, to confide to his keeping this glorious deposit, and to express to him his wish, that every year a solemn mass should be chaunted in the metropolis, in memory of the brave men who died for their country on this great day. During his stay at Schönbrunn, the Emperor, passing the troops in review, came to the first battalion of the 4th regiment of the line, which had been broken at Austerlitz, and lost its eagle. “Soldiers,” exclaimed Napoleon; “what have you done with the eagle I gave you? You swore that it should serve you as a rallying point, and that you would defend it at peril of your lives: how have you kept your oaths?” The major replied that the standard-bearer having been killed in a charge, no one had perceived it in the midst of the smoke; but that the corps had not the less performed its duty, since it had overthrown two Russian battalions and taken two flags, which they had presented to the Emperor. After hesitating a moment, Napoleon desired the officers and soldiers to swear that they had not perceived the loss of their eagle, which they all did immediately; and the Emperor, then taking a less severe tone, said to them smiling: “In that case, I will restore your eagle.”

The negotiations for the peace had been followed up with the greatest activity; and led to the treaty of Presburg, which was signed on the 26th of December, and by which the Venetian states were again united with the kingdom of Italy, and the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg raised to the dignity of kings. Napoleon himself announced this happy news to his army by a proclamation on the 27th, and in which he said that, after having seen their Emperor share with them their perils and fatigues, they should now see him surrounded by the grandeur and splendour appertaining to the sovereign

of the first people of the universe. "I shall give a grand festival, at the beginning of May, in Paris," he added: "you shall all be there. We will celebrate the memory of those who, in these two campaigns, have died on the field of honour; and the world shall see us all ready to imitate their example, and to do still more than they have done, if requisite, against those who would attack our honour, or allow themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the Continent." This language was all-powerful upon the hearts of the soldiers. It was this kind of appeal to the feelings and sentiments, this tone of sympathy and companionship, which had such electric effect in the field, and produced such marvellous heroism. His enemies have characterised it as a species of charlatanism, assumed to maintain an ignoble popularity. But it may be added, that, in their day, all who have forsaken the accustomed road to fame—whether heroes, philosophers, or legislators—have been aspersed as charlatans.

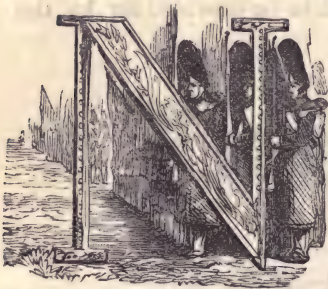
Napoleon shortly afterwards issued three decrees; by the first of which pensions were granted to the wounded French soldiers, and the widows and children of those killed. The second ordained that the Russian and Austrian cannon, taken on the field of battle, should be broken up for the purpose of erecting a triumphal column in the Place Vendôme to commemorate the glorious victories of the French army; and by the third, all the children of the generals, officers, and soldiers who had fallen in the engagement, were thenceforth to be considered the adopted children of the Emperor, and to be provided for by the State.





CHAPTER XVIII.

TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.—WAR WITH NAPLES.—MARRIAGE OF EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS.—RETURN OF NAPOLEON TO FRANCE.—PUBLIC REJOICINGS.—LOUIS, KING OF HOLLAND.—TREATY WITH THE PORTE.—DEATH OF PITT.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—DEATH OF FOX. 1804—1806.



NAPOLEON now turned his attention to the proceedings of Prussia, the conduct of which power had been marked by great duplicity. M. de Haugwitz, the envoy, had been directed to proceed to Vienna, where he had commenced negotiations with Talleyrand; but in a spirit which showed the insincerity and jealousy of the Cabinet he represented. On the return of Napoleon to Schonbrunn, he sent for Haugwitz to have a frank explanation of the intentions of his court. The Prussian envoy felt his situation to be exceedingly delicate. The message with which he had been entrusted was one of defiance, not of peace; but the events of the war had been so contrary to the hopes and expectations of the King his master, that if he delivered it, his country would be exposed to a hopeless combat with triumphant France. He thought, therefore, the best course he could pursue would be to present his master's congratulations on the recent victory. Napoleon listened incredulously to the compliments addressed to him. "This is a message," he said, "of which circumstances have altered the address." Haugwitz, seeing that Napoleon was not likely to be duped, remained

silent. "Is the conduct of your master frank and consistent?" continued the Emperor. "It would have been far more honourable to have declared war at once, although he had no cause. I prefer open enemies to false friends. You call yourselves my allies, and yet suffer a body of thirty thousand Russians to remain in Hanover, and hold communication through your states with the bulk of the Russian army. Nothing can justify such conduct; it is an open act of hostility. If your powers are not sufficient to enable you to treat properly on all questions which may arise between France and Prussia, qualify yourself to do so as soon as possible. For my part I shall march upon all my enemies, wherever they may be." The Prussian envoy could not deny the justice of these reproaches, and, in order to conceal his equivocal position, declared his readiness to treat with France on the grounds proposed by Talleyrand. He therefore signed a treaty, by which Hanover was exchanged against the margravates of Bareuth and Anspach; notwithstanding that the King of Prussia had, in the meantime, concluded a treaty with England, the hereditary possessions of whose sovereign he was now about to appropriate. This complication occasioned much embarrassment to the Prussian cabinet. War on one side or the other was inevitable; and the only question was whether it could be best sustained against England or France. Not knowing how to escape from his conflicting engagements, the Prussian monarch had recourse to a political shift. He consented to relinquish the margravates, and to receive Hanover in pledge, till a general peace should be established.

A cup of bitterness, meanwhile, had been prepared for the Conqueror of the Continent by the only foe he had utterly failed to humble. The empire of the land seemed confirmed to Napoleon by his late remarkable successes: but Britain still ruled the waves, her great admiral, Nelson, having just achieved the most glorious victory recorded in the naval annals of his country.

Allusion has been made in a former chapter to the sailing of the Toulon and Rochefort fleets. These squadrons had contrived to evade the vigilance of their opponents; but it was only to run in terror to the West Indies and return to their several ports, without having rendered any real service to their country. It was, however, considered a subject of congratulation that they had reached their harbours in safety; and this gave sufficient confidence to attempt a second sortie. Accordingly, Admiral Villeneuve sailed from Toulon on the 18th of March, 1805, when the blockading squadrons had been driven off the coast by stress of weather. He made directly for Cadiz, where he formed a junction with the Spanish fleet, under Admiral Gravina. The combined squadrons then sailed for the West Indies, and having rendered some unimportant services, returned with speed to Europe, having been chased throughout the whole voyage by the indefatigable Nelson, whom, however, they were fortunate enough to

elude: but they were unable again to reach their harbours. Sir Robert Calder met them off Cape Finisterre on the 22nd of July; and although he had only seventeen ships, while the allies had twenty-seven, he brought them to an instant engagement, and captured two of their largest vessels. After putting into Vigo to refit, the French and Spaniards proceeded to Ferrol, and, uniting themselves with the squadrons lying there, sailed thence to Cadiz, which they once more entered in safety. In the meantime the British government had received accurate intelligence of the enemy's motions, and had appointed Nelson to the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, which was reinforced with some of the best ships in the English navy. Cadiz was strictly blockaded, and the allies soon began to feel the want of provisions. When Napoleon heard of the action of the 22nd of July, he was so greatly exasperated that Villeneuve had not availed himself of his superior force to defeat the English, that he ordered the Minister of Marine to bring him before a council of enquiry, and appointed M. Rosilly to supersede him in the command. But Villeneuve, in the meantime, anxious to turn away the displeasure of the Emperor, by a final and victorious struggle, had sailed from port; and, on the 21st of October, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other off Cape Trafalgar.

The allies had greatly the advantage in point of numbers, their force consisting of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates; while Nelson had only twenty-seven ships of the line and two frigates. The French admiral, in order to foil the British custom of breaking the line, and engaging broadside to broadside, had made the most skilful disposition of his vessels to prevent the success of such an operation, should it be attempted. His fleet formed a double line, each alternate ship, at about a cable's length to the windward, covering the interval between the first and second of the foremost rank. But Nelson, notwithstanding the precautions of Villeneuve, resolved to put his favourite manœuvre in practice. His order for sailing and for battle was in two lines. An advanced squadron of six of the fastest sailing two-deckers was despatched to cut off as many as they could of the enemy's vessels a-head of the centre; Collingwood was ordered to break the line about the twelfth ship from the rear; and Nelson himself undertook to attack the centre. A council of war was held preparatory to the battle, at which general explanations to the admirals and officers were given, that the engagement was to be close and decisive, and that if, in the smoke and confusion of the fight, the admiral's signals were not discernible, no captain could do wrong by laying his ship alongside an enemy.

On the morning of the 21st, Nelson hoisted his celebrated signal, "England expects every man to do his duty;" and immediately afterwards Collingwood, leading the British van with his ship the 'Royal Sovereign,' bore down upon the enemy, with all his sails set;

and, as soon as he had reached his station among the thickest of the enemy, cut the sheets, and let the canvas fly to the wind. Nelson ran his vessel, the 'Victory,' on board the French 'Redoubtable.' These gallant examples were imitated by the whole fleet, which, breaking the hostile lines on every side, maintained the fiercest naval battle on record, at the very mouths of the cannon. The French and Spaniards fought with great bravery; but eventually nineteen of their line-of-battle-ships were taken. Four ships of the line, which sailed away at the close of the engagement, were captured a few days afterwards by Sir Richard Strachan; while those which escaped into the harbour of Cadiz were total wrecks. The fleets of France and Spain were entirely annihilated. The victory, however, was considered to be dearly purchased by the life of the heroic Nelson, who was mortally wounded early in the battle, and lived only long enough to hear the shouts of victory which announced his glorious success. The Spanish Admiral, Gravina, received several wounds in the action, of which he shortly afterwards died. Villeneuve was taken prisoner to England; and being allowed, after a brief captivity, to return to France, on his parole, soon put a period to his existence.

Napoleon was at Schonbrunn when the news of Trafalgar reached him. Although fully conscious of the magnitude of the disaster, he allowed few indications of uneasiness to appear. "I cannot be everywhere!" was his first exclamation; as if he imagined that his presence would have the same effect on the captains and seamen of his fleet as on the officers and soldiers of his army, and that the English Admiral would have quailed at his name, like the oft defeated German Marshals. The French newspapers scarcely ventured to allude to the event; and the few that did so, spoke of "a tempest which had deprived France of a few ships, after an action imprudently entered into."

On the 27th of December, the Emperor quitted the Austrian capital. Before leaving, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, which ran thus:—"Citizens of Vienna, before my departure, I wish to convince you how highly I esteem your fidelity to your Prince, and the good conduct you have uniformly exhibited. Receive, then, as a present, what the laws of war had rendered my property—your arsenal uninjured. Let this serve as a pledge for the maintenance of order. Attribute the misfortunes which you have suffered during the campaign to the evils inseparable from war; and the respect which has been paid by my army to your country, may be ascribed to the esteem which you have merited at the hands of the French soldiers."

About this time news arrived of a declaration of war against France on the part of the Court of Naples. At the commencement of the campaign of Austerlitz, the two countries had been on the most friendly terms, and the French troops which had been quartered in the Neapolitan territories had been withdrawn. But no sooner had

this taken place, than the King of the Two Sicilies collected all his forces, opened his harbours to the enemies of France, and received into his states twelve thousand Russians and eight thousand English soldiers. The news of the battle of Austerlitz, however, disconcerted the Neapolitan court; while the English and Russians, on learning the disasters of their allies, hastened to re-embark. The King and Queen of Naples fled to Sicily for refuge, and endeavoured to appease Napoleon by offers of submission, but without effect. A proclamation was published at Schonbrunn, which, after setting forth the many provocations to which France had submitted from the Neapolitan Cabinet, announced that "the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign, its existence being incompatible with the peace of Europe and the honour of the French Empire." The French troops which had quitted Naples were ordered to retrace their steps, and Joseph Bonaparte was directed to enforce the sentence of expulsion pronounced against the royal family. The war was soon concluded. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the French, the cowardly Neapolitan officers, with the Prince Royal at their head, setting the example of flight whenever a French cockade was visible. "One single trait of gallantry," says Sir Walter Scott, "illuminated the scene of universal pusillanimity." The Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal heroically defended the fortress of Gaeta. Being called upon to surrender, "Tell your General," said he, "that Gaeta is not Ulm, nor the Prince of Hesse General Mack." After a brave resistance, however, he was compelled to capitulate. The whole of his mainland territories were shortly wrested from the imbecile King of Naples, whose subjects seemed to regard the change of masters as a release from oppression, rather than a question of foreign conquest.



On his way to Paris, Napoleon stayed some time at Munich, in order to be present at the nuptials of the Princess Augusta of Bavaria,

with the Prince Eugene Beauharnais, whom the Emperor had recently adopted as his son, and declared to be his presumptive successor in the kingdom of Italy. The Empress Josephine met her consort in the capital of Bavaria, and assisted at the celebration of her son's marriage, which took place on the 13th of January, 1806. Eugene is said at first to have been opposed to the match, as he disliked political alliances; but as soon as he beheld his intended bride, his repugnance was dispelled by the beauty and accomplishments of the Princess. Magnificent fêtes were given on the occasion, which lasted for a week.



Whilst the Emperor prolonged his stay in Bavaria, the great bodies of the state, and the Parisian people, prepared to receive the conqueror of Austerlitz in a manner worthy of him. The Tribune, in the sitting of the 30th of December, adopted a resolution to "give to the hero, who, by the prodigies he had performed, rendered eulogy impossible, a testimony of admiration, love, and gratitude, which should remain imperishable as his glory." On the 1st of January, 1806, the

fifty-four flags given to the Senate by the Emperor were conveyed to the Luxembourg by the Tribunal in a body, followed by the authorities, with military music and a part of the garrison of Paris, The Arch-Chancellor and all the ministers were assembled to receive them. The Senate, presided over by the Grand Elector, unanimously decreed. "That a triumphant monument should be consecrated to Napoleon the Great. That the Senate in a body should wait upon his majesty and assure him of the gratitude and affection of the French people. That the letter of the Emperor to the Senate, dated from Elchingen, the 17th of October, 1805, should be engraven on marble tablets, and placed in the hall where the sittings of the Senate were held."

The cathedral of Notre Dame also received its portion of the trophies of this immortal campaign. The flags which had been destined for it had been forwarded to the Parisian municipality from the camp at Schonbrunn. The metropolitan clergy attended on the 19th of January, to receive them, with great pomp, at the doors of the church, from the vaulted roofs of which they were suspended. Fêtes and rejoicings followed throughout the Empire, and were sustained for several days together.

Napoleon and Josephine returned to Paris on the 26th. Their presence in the capital caused a movement of universal enthusiasm, of which the Senate and the Tribunal made themselves the organs, at the solemn audience which was granted them on the 28th at the Palace of the Tuileries. "Sire," said the President of the first of these bodies, "although your diffidence treats so lightly the numerous prodigies by which the genius, which had already surpassed all



other heroes, now surpasses itself, suffer us to confirm the decree of the Senate, by solemnly giving the saviour of France the title of GREAT, a title so justly merited, and which the voice of the people,

which may in this instance be regarded as the voice of God, commands us to bestow on you." The Emperor replied, that he thanked the Senate for the sentiments which their president had expressed towards him, and that he placed his sole glory in fixing the destinies of France in such wise, that, in the most distant ages, she should be known by the denomination of the GREAT NATION.

An advantageous treaty of peace and commerce was about this time concluded, through the agency of General Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, with the Sublime Porte, whose extraordinary envoy, Mouhed Effendi, obtained an audience with the Emperor. The Sultan recognised the titles of Napoleon, and placed the "Great Nation" on a level in commercial relations with the most favoured allies.

On the 2nd of March, Napoleon opened in person the new session of the Legislative Body. In his speech he accused himself, if it may be thus termed, of too great generosity towards his vanquished foes. "Russia," said he, "is only indebted for the return of the wreck of her army to the benefit of the capitulation which I have granted her. Possessed of power to overturn the Imperial throne of Austria, I have strengthened its foundation. Will the behaviour of the cabinet of Vienna be such as to cause posterity to reproach me with the want of foresight?"

The Ministers rendered an account of the situation of the Empire, the prosperity of which was constantly on the increase. Roads, canals, bridges, monuments of all kinds, useful and ornamental buildings, were being commenced or completed at all points of this vast monarchy, which was then composed of a hundred and ten departments, without reckoning Holland, the Venetian states, and the kingdom of Italy. "Several new roads," said the Minister of the Interior, "desired by the administrators, have attracted the attention of the government. That of Valogne to La Hogue is completed; that of Caen to Honfleur is nearly finished; that of Ajaccio to Bastia is half constructed; that of Alessandria to Savona is planned; that of Paris to Mayence, by way of Hamburgh, and of Aix-la-Chapelle to Montjoie, are ordered to be commenced. A laudable animation pervades the great mass of the communes for the restoration of the roads in their neighbourhood. Bridges are re-established on the Rhine, at Kehl and at Brissac; on the Meuse, at Givet; on the Cher, at Tours; on the Loire at Nevers, and Roanne; on the Saone, at Auxonne, and others of less importance. Two ungovernable torrents, the Durance and the Isère, will be compelled to pass under bridges. Six grand canals are being constructed; that of St. Quentin; the Canal Napoleon, joining the Rhine with the Rhone; the Burgundian Canal; those of Blavet and of l'Ile de France; that of Arles; and the canals threading Belgium. Several others are commenced or planned, such as those of St. Valery, from Beaucaire to Aigues-Mortes, of Sedan,

from Niort to La Rochelle, and from Nantes to Brest. Many others are indeed projected—those of Censée, Charleroi, Ypres, and Briare. If you examine the state of our ports, you will perceive that both seas are so occupied as to render them more accessible, more commodious, and more safe.”

M. de Champagny then spoke of the great buildings and embellishments of Paris. “On your return to your capital,” said he, “you have been surprised to find it more embellished in the course of one year of war, than it was formerly in half a century of peace. New quays extend along the banks of the Seine. Two bridges have been completed in the preceding year: the third, the most important of all for its extent, is on the point of being finished. In its vicinity a new quarter is planned, in order to render it perfect: the streets of this quarter bear the names of the warriors who have found an honourable death during the campaign; the bridge itself takes the name of Austerlitz. On leaving the banks of the Seine, a triumphal arch, placed at the Boulevards, will become a fresh monument of these events, the recollection of which ought to be more durable than all that which we could have done to perpetuate it. May these works prove to posterity that we have been as just as she will be, and that our gratitude at least equals our admiration.”

To this discourse, of which we give but a fragment, and to the opening speech of the Emperor, the Legislative Body replied by an address, which was distinguished by the same demonstrations of enthusiasm and devotion so lavishly displayed in all the preceding harangues of the great bodies of the State. “Years, under your reign,” said M. de Fontanes, “are more fertile in glorious events than ages under other dynasties. The world seems to have returned to those times, when, as the most brilliant and profound of political writers says, ‘the march of the conqueror was so rapid, that the universe seemed rather won by a race than by a victory.’”

In this session, the Legislative Body adopted the Code of Civil Procedure, which the minister of the Interior had introduced by saying: “This will not be a perfect work; but it will be better than that which has hitherto existed.” The establishment of the Imperial University also dated from this period. The motives for this important foundation were explained by the celebrated Fourcroy, whose science and patriotism ought to have raised him to the rank of Grand Master, and whom Napoleon wronged by preferring an abbé of the *ancien régime*, M. de Fontanes. The organization of the Bank of France also received the legislative sanction on the report of a councillor of state, Regnault de St. Jean d’Angely.

Napoleon had too much logic in his head not to infuse it into his plans and monarchical reactions. That which he had done for himself as the head of the State, he repeated for his relations and lieutenants. Some Imperial statues were presented to the Senate, at the sitting of

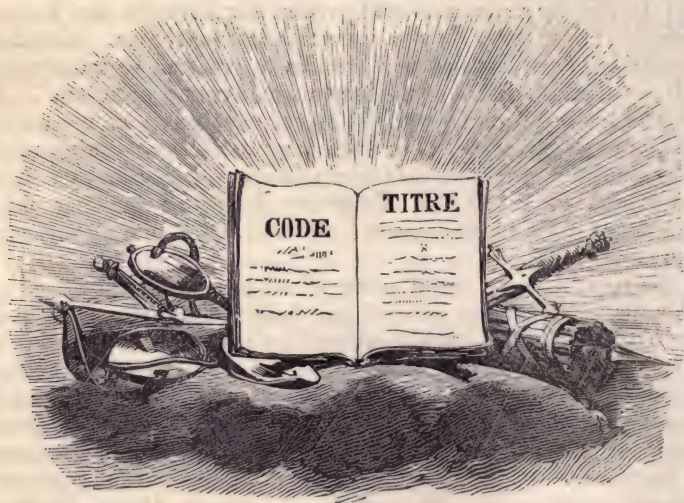
the 31st of March, 1806, regulating the positions of the princes and princesses of the Imperial house—creating Joseph Bonaparte King of Naples; giving to Murat, brother-in-law of the Emperor, the sovereignty of the duchies of Berg and Cleves; and to the Princess Pauline the principality of Guastalla. Berthier became Prince of Neufchatel; Talleyrand of Benevento; and Bernadotte—who owed his elevation to his connexion by marriage with the Bonaparte family—was honoured with the Italian principality of Ponte-Corvo. Soult was created Duke of Dalmatia; Ney of Elchingen; Caulaincourt of Vicenza; Augereau of Castiglione; and Massena of Rivoli; while below these were a long train of dukes and counts of less note. These dignities were accompanied by grants of extensive feudatories in France, or the countries which had been annexed to the empire, the income from which was fixed at a fifteenth of the revenue of the several estates.

About the same time a deputation arrived in Paris from the Batavian Republic, to request that their states might be consolidated into a kingdom, and that Prince Louis, the brother of the Emperor, might be appointed King of Holland. Napoleon, who relied on the good disposition of Louis towards France, readily granted the request of the Dutch. Turning to Louis, who was standing by his side during the interview, he said, "You, Prince, are called to reign over a people whose fathers owed their independence to France. Holland afterwards became united to England; she was conquered, and a second time became indebted to France for her existence. May she be indebted to you for kings who will protect her liberties, her laws, and her religion; but never do you cease to be a Frenchman. The dignity of Constable of the Empire shall remain to you and your descendants. It will recall those duties you have to perform towards me." King Louis and his beautiful Queen, Hortense, accordingly proceeded to the Hague, where they commenced their reign, in the beginning of June, 1806. Lucien and Jerome had given offence to their brother by marriages which deranged the Emperor's plans of forming political alliances, and were for the present overlooked in the distribution of honours and wealth.

In the meantime, an event occurred which seemed to afford a reasonable prospect of the general pacification of Europe. Mr. Pitt, whose health had been greatly affected by the frustration of his hopes at Marengo, had sunk under the disastrous intelligence of Austerlitz, and died on the 23rd of January, 1806. His generous opponent, Fox, on the demise of that great minister, succeeded to the direction of the councils of his country, and having held a friendly personal intercourse with Napoleon, and uniformly expressed his belief that a sound and beneficial peace might be established between Great Britain and France, his accession to power was looked upon as a pledge that amicable measures would, at least, be had recourse to. An opportunity for testing the inclinations of both parties was soon afforded. A few

days after the formation of Mr. Fox's cabinet, a French emigrant called upon the English minister, and offered, for a sum of money, to assassinate the Emperor; a proposal which was immediately communicated to Prince Talleyrand, with information that the British laws did not authorize the detention of foreigners, unless guilty of some offence for which they were amenable to justice beyond a limited time; but that the Premier had done the miscreant who had called on him the honour of taking him for a spy, and would not liberate him till the lapse of a sufficient period to allow the "head of the French government" to take all necessary precautions against a meditated secret attack. Napoleon, gratified with the noble conduct of his informant, directed Talleyrand to express his thanks for the manly frankness of the disclosure.

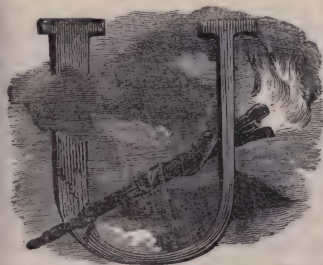
With such a minister the ancient rivalry of France and England would soon have given place to less hostile dispositions, and peace might have become possible. Napoleon thought so, and declared such to have been his opinion at St. Helena. Negotiations were commenced, which for a time proceeded satisfactorily. But Fox died on the 15th of September, 1806, while they were in progress; and the shade of Pitt led back warlike obstinacy to the Britannic councils.





CHAPTER XIX.

NORTHERN CONFEDERACY.—WAR WITH RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA.—SAALFIELD.—DEATH OF PRINCE LOUIS—JENA.—AUERSTADT.—POTSDAM.—VISIT TO THE TOMB OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. 1806



UNDER the circumstances alluded to in the previous chapter, a treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, on the 20th of July, 1806, by the Russian minister, under the then pacific influence of the British ministry. But the death of Fox having given to this influence an hostile character, Alexander refused to ratify the work of his ambassador, and concerted with the new English cabinet and the court of Berlin to re-illumine the torch of war on the continent. Already a year had elapsed since the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and his wife, had signed the famous treaty of Potsdam, where they had sworn, on the tomb of the great Frederick, to unite all their efforts against France.

Finding all his schemes of aggrandisement likely to prove abortive, Frederick William determined to have recourse to arms. Every effort was used to inflame the Prussians against the French. Prince Louis, the brother of the King, talked incessantly of the victories of the great Frederick, and contrasted the glory of those days with the present decaying importance of the nation. The Queen, a beautiful and masculine-spirited woman, put on the uniform of a regiment

which bore her name, and frequently appeared at its head, haranguing the soldiers on what she called the wrongs and insults of the country. The enthusiasm of the young courtiers, who held command in the



army, was soon excited and communicated to the soldiery. Some of the former, in their fury, are reported to have broken the windows of such of the Prussian ministers' houses as they suspected to be pacifically inclined towards France, and to have sharpened their swords on the threshold of the French ambassador's hotel, besides applying every offensive term in their vocabulary to the ruler of France.

Prussia at length, being fully assured of the co-operation of Russia and England, commenced her preparations for war about the middle of August, the whole people entering into the work with the utmost enthusiasm. Napoleon, meanwhile, was not idle. He was well informed of the events that were passing, and wrote to his allies of the Confederation of the Rhine, denouncing the intentions of Russia and Prussia, and demanding the contingents promised by treaty. On the 25th of September, the Emperor quitted Paris for the Rhine, accompanied as far as Mayence by Josephine. Orders were despatched to Strasbourg, to embark all the troops from that fortress for the Rhine; and to Holland, for the French army in that kingdom to advance with all speed to the Weser. On the 30th, Napoleon was at Wurtzburg, where he was hospitably entertained by the Elector, and received his accession to the Confederation. On the 6th his headquarters were at Bamberg, whence he addressed a proclamation to his army, which ran thus:—"Soldiers! the order for your return to France was issued. You were already within a few days' march of

your homes ; triumphal fêtes awaited you, and the preparations for your reception had commenced in the capital ; but while we thus too confidently resigned ourselves to security, new plots were hatching, under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been raised at Berlin, and for two months we have been provoked with a degree of audacity that calls for vengeance. The same faction, the same headlong spirit which, under favour of our internal dissensions, led the Prussians fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, still prevails in their councils. They would oblige Saxony, by a disgraceful transaction, to renounce her independence, by ranking her in the list of their provinces. They seek, in fine, to tear your laurels from your brows. They expect us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their army. What madness ! Let them learn, that it would be a thousand times easier to destroy the great capital, than to sully the honour of the great people and their allies. In their former attempt, the plans of our enemies were frustrated. They found in the plains of Champagne, only shame, defeat, and death ; but the lessons of experience are forgotten, and there are men in whom the feelings of hatred and jealousy never become extinct. Soldiers, there is not one of you who would wish to return to France by any other path than that of honour. We ought not to return except beneath triumphal arches. What ! have we braved the inclemency of the seasons, the ocean, and the desert ; have we subdued Europe, often united against us ; have we extended our glory from east to west, only to return now like deserters ; and are we to abandon our allies, and then to be told, that the French eagle has fled in dismay before the Prussians !

“ But they have already arrived at our advanced-posts : let us then march upon them, since forbearance will not check their infatuation. Let the Prussian army experience the fate it shared fourteen years ago. Let us teach them, that if it be easy to obtain an increase of territory and power, with the friendship of the great people, their enmity, provoked by the neglect of prudence and reason, is more terrible than the storms of the ocean.”

On the 7th of October, the Emperor received a courier from Talleyrand, bearing a letter, or pamphlet, signed by the King of Prussia, containing the most insulting remarks on the character and policy of Napoleon. On reading it, the Emperor handed it to the generals standing near him, remarking, “ I pity my brother, the King of Prussia, who does not understand French, and certainly never read that rhapsody.” The courier was also the bearer of a manifesto signed by Count Knobelsdorff, containing a long list of grievances and demands, and in which, among other things, it was required that the French should evacuate the territories of the Rhenish Confederacy by the 8th of October. Addressing Berthier, Napoleon said, “ Marshal, we have a rendezvous of honour appointed for the 8th ; a Frenchman

has never failed to keep them. But as we are told that there is a beautiful Queen who wishes to witness the fight, let us be courteous, and march, without sleeping, for Saxony."

The Prussian army was commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, who was seventy-two years of age—an obstinate, self-sufficient man, and gifted with little of that military genius necessary to compete successfully with Napoleon. His plan of the campaign was singularly injudicious. Instead of waiting the advance of the Russians on his own frontier, he resolved upon entering the dominions of the Elector of Saxony, who wished to remain neutral, and compel him to join his forces with those of Prussia. The army of the Elector was accordingly united to that of Prussia, but necessarily without any goodwill to the cause they were thus forced to assist; nor was their friendship conciliated by their masters, who conducted themselves in Saxony as if they had been in an enemy's country. The barren country of Weimar not affording sufficient forage and subsistence for the troops, the Prussian line was extended to a length of ninety miles; and as the Duke of Brunswick resolved to remain on the defensive, Napoleon was enabled to adopt his favourite tactics, by attacking the forces of the enemy in detail—a mode by which he had overcome every army yet opposed to him.

Having obtained information of the want of skill in the tactics of his opponents, Napoleon soon decided on the plan of the campaign. He gave orders, on the 8th of October, for a simultaneous advance on several points of the enemy's line. The first skirmish took place on the 9th, when the village of Schleitz, in the forest of Franconia, was taken by the corps of Bernadotte, its defenders, six thousand in number, being taken prisoners. Murat particularly distinguished himself in this action, heading the charges of the Guard, sabre in hand.

On the 10th, an engagement took place at Saalfeld, between the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe and the division of Marshal Lannes. The Prussians had at their head Prince Louis of Prussia, who had been one of the most ardent promoters of the war. His courage was his destruction. Scorning to abandon the post confided to his valour, he offered battle to forces evidently superior, and which were in possession of the more advantageous position. After a brave resistance, his line was overthrown and broken; and whilst he made desperate efforts to rally the fugitives, he was overtaken by a serjeant of hussars, named Guindet, who called upon him to surrender, to which the Prince only replied by putting himself in an attitude of defence. He was then mortally wounded, which occasioned it to be remarked in the second bulletin, that "the first blow of the war had killed one of its authors."

On the 11th, the French army was at the gates of Leipsic, and the head-quarters of the Emperor at Gera. The issue of the campaign was no longer doubtful for Napoleon; but as he aimed at averting

from himself the responsibility of the war, and of well establishing in the eyes of Europe that he had neglected nothing to secure peace, he employed himself at Gera in writing a reply to the letter of the King



of Prussia, which soon became public, and of which we here give the chief passages :

“ Sir, my brother,—I did not receive your majesty’s letter of the 25th until the 7th, and I am grieved that this kind of pamphlet should have your signature attached to it. I only reply to it, in order to protest to your majesty that I do not attribute any of the sentiments expressed in it to you ; all are opposed to your character and to your honour and dignity. I pity and disdain the compilers of such a work. Immediately afterwards, I received your minister’s note of the 1st of October. A rendezvous was appointed me for the 8th. Like a true knight I have kept it : I am in the heart of Saxony. Believe me, my strength is such that your forces cannot long balance the victory. But wherefore shed so much blood ? to what purpose ? I will hold to your majesty the same language I held to the Emperor Alexander two days before the battle of Austerlitz :—Why should we make our subjects slay each other ! I do not prize a victory which is purchased by the lives of so many of my children. If I were just commencing my military career, and if I had any reason to fear the chances of war, this language would be wholly misplaced. Sire, your majesty will be

vanquished ; you will have compromised the repose of your life, the existence of your subjects, without the shadow of a pretext. At present you are uninjured, and may treat with me in a manner conformable with your rank ; before a month has passed, you will treat, but in a different position.... I am aware that I may perhaps irritate a certain monarchical susceptibility ; but circumstances demand that I should use no concealment. May your majesty command the ill-disposed and inconsiderate persons by whom you are surrounded, to be silent at the aspect of your throne, from the respect which is due to it ; and may you restore tranquillity to yourself and your dominions."

Without waiting for a reply to this letter, which perhaps he scarcely expected, Napoleon directed the concentration of his right and left at Jena, while the centre advanced to Naumburg, where the magazines of the enemy were captured and consigned to the flames : their explosion first announcing to the astonished Duke of Brunswick, and the King his master, that the French army was in their rear ; that they had no alternative but to give battle in an isolated position ; and that, in the event of a disaster, their retreat was cut off. In this desperate position, the Duke of Brunswick resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of Naumburg, and the re-establishment of communications with his rear. Accordingly, he divided his army into two bodies, one of which he led in person, accompanied by the King, towards Naumburg ; and the other, commanded by Marshal Mollendorf and Prince Hohenlohe, was directed to force its passage through the French lines in the neighbourhood of Jena. The great conflict that ensued, which is known as the "Battle of Jena," is thus described in the fifth bulletin of the Grand Army :—

"The battle of Jena has washed out the affront of Rosbach, and decided, in seven days, a campaign which has entirely calmed the warlike frenzy which had possessed itself of the Prussian mind.

"The King of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th of October, by defiling before Frankfort on his right, Wurtzburg on his centre, and Bamberg on his left. All the divisions of his army were disposed so as to execute this plan. But the French army, turning on the extremity of his left, found itself in a few days at Sadlbürg, Labenstein, Schleitz, Gera, and Naumburg. The Prussian army being turned, employed the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in recalling all its detachments ; and on the 13th, presented itself in order of battle between Capelsdorf and Auerstadt, being about a hundred and fifty thousand men strong.

"On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor arrived at Jena, and, from a slight elevation, occupied by our advanced guard, perceived the arrangements of the enemy, who appeared to be manœuvring in order to attack the next day, and force the different mouths of the Saale. The enemy defended in great strength, and in

an almost impregnable position, the road from Jena to Weimar, and appeared to think that the French could not defile in the plain, without having forced this passage. It did not appear possible, indeed, to mount any artillery on the plain; which, besides, was so small that four battalions could scarcely find room on it. We laboured all night at forming a road through the rock, and succeeded in conveying the artillery to the heights.

“ Marshal Davoust received orders to pass by Naumburg, to defend the defiles of Koesen, if the enemy attempted to march upon Naumburg; or to repair to Alpoda, to take them in the rear if they remained in their present position. The corps of Marshal Prince de Ponte Corvo was directed to defile from Dornburg, in order to fall upon the rear of the enemy, if they attacked either Naumburg or Jena in any force. The heavy cavalry, which had not yet rejoined the army, could not arrive until noon. The cavalry of the Imperial Guard was thirty-six leagues distant, notwithstanding the forced marches it had made since its departure from Paris. But there are moments in war when no consideration can balance the advantage of being before-hand with the enemy, and of attacking first. The Emperor ordered to be ranged on the elevation then occupied by the advance-guard—a position which the enemy appeared to have neglected, and opposite to which they were drawn up in order of battle—the whole of the corps of Marshal Lannes, each division forming a wing. Marshal Lefebvre placed on the summit the Imperial Guard in a square battalion. The Emperor himself bivouacked in the midst of these brave fellows. The night offered a spectacle worthy of observation—that of the two armies, one of which embraced with its front an extent of six leagues, and peopled the atmosphere with its fires; the other whose apparent fires were concentrated in a small point. In both encampments there was the sound of active preparations. The fires of the two armies were within half cannon shot: the sentinels almost touched each other; and not a movement could be made without being heard.

“ The troops of Marshal Ney and Soult passed the night in marching. At day-break, the whole of the troops took arms. The division Gazan was ranged in three lines to the left of the hill. The division Suchet formed the right: the Imperial Guard occupied the summit of the hillock; each of these bodies having their cannon in the intervals. From the town and the neighbouring vallies, some passages had been constructed, which permitted the easier operations of the troops who had not been able to find room on the hills;—for it was, perhaps, the first time that an army was to pass through so narrow a defile.

“ A thick fog obscured the day. The Emperor passed before several lines. He recommended the soldiers to be on their guard against the Prussian cavalry, which had been represented as so formidable. He

bade them remember, that a year ago, at the same period, they had conquered Ulm ; that the Prussian, like the Austrian army, was at that moment shackled, having lost its line of operations and its magazine ; that it could not, therefore, fight for glory, but for a retreat ; that as it would seek to force a passage on different points, those divisions which allowed it to pass would lose honour and reputation. To this animated discourse, the soldiers replied by cries of 'Let us march !' The riflemen commenced the action ; and the firing soon became vigorous. Good as was the position which the enemy occupied, they were nevertheless dislodged ; and the French army, defiling into the plain, began to take up its order of battle.

" On their side, the chief body of the hostile army, which had only intended to commence the attack when the fog had cleared up, took arms. A body of fifty thousand men on the left posted themselves so as to cover the defiles of Naumburg ; but they had already been forestalled by Marshal Davoust. The two other bodies, forming a force of eighty thousand men, marched to meet the French army, which was just emerging from the plain of Jena. The fog covered the plain during two hours, but was at length dissipated by a fine autumn sun. The two armies perceived each other within cannon-shot. The left of the French troops, protected by a village and some woods, was commanded by Marshal Augereau. The Imperial Guard separated it from the centre, which was occupied by Marshal Lannes. The right was formed by the corps of Marshal Soult. Marshal Ney had but a small body of three thousand men, the only troops under his command which had arrived.

" The hostile army was numerous, and boasted of a fine cavalry. The manœuvres were executed with precision and rapidity. The Emperor had wished to delay for two hours, before commencing the action, in order to wait, in the position which he had just taken after the attack of the morning, for the troops which were to join him, and especially the cavalry ; but French ardour carried all before it. Several battalions being engaged at the village of Holstedt, he saw the enemy moving to gain this post. Marshal Lannes immediately received orders to march to the support of this village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement of its right upon our left, Marshal Augereau was charged to repulse it. In less than an hour the action became general. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight pieces of cannon, scattered death on all sides, and presented a spectacle rare in history. Both sides were constantly executing manœuvres as though on parade. Among our troops there was not the least disorder ; the victory was never for a moment doubtful. The Emperor retained near him, exclusive of the Imperial Guard, a large number of reserved troops, in order to be enabled to provide against any unforeseen accident.

" Marshal Soult, having carried the wood, which he had attacked during two hours, made a movement in advance. At this moment the Emperor was advised that the division of French cavalry in reserve had begun to form, and that two divisions of the troops of Marshal Ney had taken up their position in the rear of the field of battle. All the troops in the reserve on the first line were then ordered to advance, who, finding themselves supported, overthrew the enemy in an instant, and made them retreat precipitately. They did so in good order for the first hour; but this was converted into a frightful disorder the moment that our divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the Grand-duke of Berg at their head, were able to take part in the affair. These brave soldiers, trembling to behold the victory decided without them, threw themselves upon the enemy in all directions. Neither horse nor foot could withstand the shock. In vain did the Prussians form in square battalions. Five of them were broken through; artillery, cavalry, all were overthrown and taken. The French reached Weimar at the same time with the enemy, who were thus pursued for six leagues. On our right, Marshal Davoust was performing prodigies. He not only restrained, but continued fighting with the whole of the hostile troops which were to have defiled by Koesen.

" The results of the battle are: thirty to forty thousand prisoners—more are being brought in every minute; five-and-twenty to thirty flags, three hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of provision. Among the prisoners are more than twenty generals, some of them lieutenant-generals, and among others, Lieutenant-general Schmettau. The number of dead in the Prussian army is immense. It is reckoned that about twenty thousand are killed or wounded. Field-marshal Mollendorf has been wounded; the Duke of Brunswick is killed; and General Blucher and Prince Henry of Prussia are grievously wounded. By the account of the prisoners, deserters, and such like, the disorder and confusion in the remains of the hostile army are extreme.

" The Prussian army has, in this battle, been foiled in its retreat, and lost all its line of operations. Its left, pursued by Marshal Davoust, effected a retreat upon Weimar, at the same time that its right and centre retired from Weimar upon Naumburg. The confusion, therefore, was extreme. The King was compelled to retire from the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

" Our loss is reckoned at a thousand or twelve hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. The Grand-duke of Berg was at this time investing Erfurt, where he found a body of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange. If it could enhance the claims which the army has to the esteem and consideration of the nation, nothing could surpass the favourable sentiments felt by those who were witnesses of the enthusiasm and love which was evinced

towards the Emperor in the heat of the battle. Wherever there was a moment's hesitation, the mere cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' reanimated the courage of all. In the midst of the struggle, the Emperor seeing



his eagles menaced by the cavalry, galloped forward to order manœuvres and changes in the squares; he was interrupted every moment by the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' The Imperial foot-guards beheld, with a spleen they were unable to conceal, everybody engaged, and themselves inactive. Several voices shouted: '*Forward!*'—'*How now?*' said the Emperor, '*this can only be some beardless young man who ventures to prejudge my actions; let him wait until he has commanded in thirty pitched battles before pretending to advise me.*' The exclamation did, in fact, proceed from some recruits who were anxious to signalize their youthful valour.

"In so warm a fight, in which the enemy lost almost all their generals, we should thank that Providence which watched over our army, that no man of note has been killed or wounded. Marshal Lannes had his breast scratched without being wounded. Marshal

Davoust had his hat carried away, and a great number of balls in his clothes."

After dusk, Napoleon rode over the field of battle, alighting from his horse to speak a few words of comfort, or administer a little brandy to the wounded; sometimes placing his hand on the breast of a prostrate soldier, to ascertain if his heart still beat. He afterwards proceeded to Jena, where he proposed passing the night, and was there waited upon by the Professors of the University: the Vicar also was presented to him, and rewarded for the attention he had paid to the wounded. Among the prisoners brought in during the night, were about sixteen thousand Saxons, with a great number of distinguished generals and officers. On the following morning, these officers were assembled in the hall of the University, when the Emperor told them he did not regard them as enemies, as they had been compelled to aid the designs of Prussia. "The place of Saxony," he said, "is marked in the Confederation of the Rhine. France is the natural protector of the Saxons against the violence of Prussia." On condition that they would not again bear arms against France during the campaign, they were dismissed to their homes; being made the bearers of a proclamation addressed by the Emperor to their fellow countrymen.

The battle of Jena was immediately succeeded by the taking of Erfurt, which capitulated on the 16th. The Prince of Orange and field-marshal Mollendorf were taken prisoners. On the same day the King of Prussia demanded an armistice, which Napoleon refused. However, General Kalkreuth, pressed by Marshal Soult, and fearing to be taken with a column of ten thousand men which he commanded, and among whom was the Prussian monarch himself, called for a suspension of arms, which he said had been granted by the Emperor. Marshal Soult would not believe it, and said that it was impossible the Emperor could commit such a fault, and that he would not observe this armistice until it should be officially announced to him. The Prussian general then repaired to the French advanced posts, in order to confer with the Marshal, and commend himself to the generosity of the conqueror. "General," said the French warrior, "we have been used thus for a long time; our generosity is appealed to when our adversary is conquered, and the next moment the magnanimity we are accustomed to show is forgotten. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor granted an armistice to the Russian army; this armistice saved it. See how unworthily the Russians are now acting. Lay down your arms, and I will then await the orders of the Emperor." The Prussian general retired confounded; and Marshal Soult, continuing in active pursuit of the enemy for several days, arrived on the 22nd under the walls of Magdeburg.

Whilst Soult thus drove the enemy before him, occasioning them great loss in the pursuit, Bernadotte destroyed, at Halle, the Prussian

reserve commanded by a Prince of Wirtemberg. This battle took place on the 17th. On the 18th, Marshal Davoust took possession of Leipsic; and on the 21st, the road to Magdeburg being closed to the Prussians by the troops of Soult and Murat, there was nothing but a disorderly flight left for the remains of their army.

When passing from Naumburg to Halle, Napoleon rode over the field of Rosbach, where, in 1757, the Great Frederick obtained a signal victory over the French and Hanoverian armies. Although he had never been in the neighbourhood, the ground was so familiar to him, from former geographical and military studies, that he was enabled to direct an aide-de-camp to the spot where a column had been erected to commemorate the victory. "Gallop in that direction," said the Emperor, pointing with his hand, "and at the distance of half a league you will find the Prussian monument, which I intend to have removed to Paris." The column was found at the place indicated, and, being taken down by some of General Suchet's sappers, and placed among the other trophies of Imperial conquest, was eventually transported on carriages to the French capital.

On the 23rd, Napoleon received an envoy from the wounded Duke of Brunswick, who, feeling his end approaching, was desirous to conciliate his victor, and save his hereditary domains from the usual result of conquest, as being unconcerned in the quarrels of Prussia, although he, following his profession as a soldier, appeared in arms against France. The Emperor replied to this sophistical appeal by reminding him that he had held different language in 1792, when, in a manifesto published in the name of the Allied Sovereigns, he had denounced military execution against the constituted authorities of Paris, and consigned the capital to the licence of pillage and the flames. "If I were to demolish the town of Brunswick," said the Emperor to the Duke's envoy, "and not leave one stone upon another, what would your prince say? Does not the law of retaliation permit me to do to Brunswick, that which he wished to do in my capital? To announce the project of demolishing towns, might have been foolish; but to wish to take away the honour of a whole army of brave men, to propose to them to quit Germany by forced marches, at the mere summons of the Prussian army, is what posterity will scarce be able to credit. The Duke of Brunswick ought never to have been guilty of such an outrage. . . . To overthrow and destroy the habitations of peaceable citizens," he continued, with the greatest warmth, "is a crime which may be repaired by time and money; but to dishonour an army, to desire that it should fly from Germany before the Prussian eagle, is a meanness that he alone who counselled it could be capable of committing." The Duke, however, was informed, in conclusion, that the persons and property of the peaceable citizens would be respected, and that the French soldiers were incapable of committing the gross outrages proved to have been contemplated by their

enemies. A period was put to all further correspondence by the death of the aged and mortified Duke; and the Principality of Brunswick was occupied by the French. A great outcry was raised in England at the harsh treatment of the Duke; but this seems to have arisen from a sympathy with the father-in-law of the heir to the throne of Great Britain, rather than from a fair consideration of the circumstances themselves. The Duke could not fail to be aware, that in unsheathing his sword against France, he dared the hazards of war, in fortune as well as in person.



The results of the termination of the battle of Jena were many, and of much importance to Napoleon. It would be difficult to paint the terror into which the grand catastrophe had thrown both the soldiers and the inhabitants of Prussia. Nothing could place the general alarm in a stronger point of view, than the phrase inserted in the *Berlin Gazette* on the following day: "The royal army has been defeated at Auerstadt; but the king and his brothers are alive." In fact, after this disaster, no more hope remained for the Prussian government. Every place, the capital not excepted, opened its gates to the victorious army; five days had in a manner decided the fate of the monarchy, founded and augmented by the sword, and lately so flourishing.

Napoleon entered Potsdam on the 24th of October, and in the evening visited the palace of Sans-Souci; where he went over the

apartments of the Great Frederick, which were then in precisely the same state as they were in on the death of the royal occupant. The old writing-table still bore the inkstand and pens which had been used by the King; and his favourite books were still upon their shelves. Napoleon was evidently the first person who had taken them down since the death of their owner. Some of them contained marginal notes in Frederick's hand-writing, and the maps exhibited proofs of having been used in tracing the campaigns of the Seven Years' War. Napoleon remained in the royal cabinet some time, in profound meditation, and then examined the gardens and grounds, requesting that the favourite walks of the King should be pointed out to him. He returned to Potsdam at night, where he gave orders that no one should intrude on the apartments of the Queen of Prussia. A dressing-room, however, appears to have been examined, in one of the drawers of which was found a memorial drawn up by the emigrant Dumouriez, detailing a scheme of that general's for subjugating his native country.

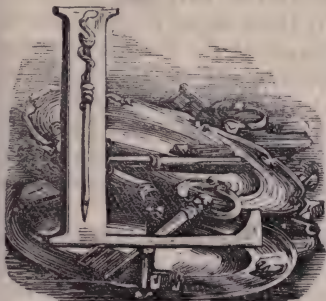
On the 25th, Napoleon reviewed the Imperial foot-guards, after which he went, with his staff, to view the vault containing the body of Frederick the Great. The remains of that celebrated man were enclosed in a double coffin of wood and copper, and were placed in a niche, protected by a massive door. There was neither ornament, trophy, nor any other mark of distinction, to recall the deeds which had first caused the Prussian name to be respected throughout Europe. The coffin bore the simple inscription, FREDERICO II. Among the spoils which Napoleon took away from Potsdam were the sword, the cross of the Black Eagle, and the sash of the King, together with the flags which had been borne by his guards during the Seven Years' War. These trophies of conquest were presented by the Emperor to the Hotel of Invalids, at Paris, where they were received by the veterans who had served against Frederick in Hanover with the most profound respect, as appertaining to one of the greatest captains of the age. When Napoleon took down the sword of Frederick from the place where it hung, he exclaimed, displaying it: "I am better pleased with these relics than if I had discovered a treasure of twenty millions of francs!"





CHAPTER XX.

ENTRY INTO BERLIN.—CLEMENCY OF THE EMPEROR.—BERLIN DECREE FOR THE
BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH ISLES.—MESSAGE TO THE SENATE.—LEVY OF EIGHTY
THOUSAND MEN.—PROCLAMATION OF POSEN. 1806.



LESS than a year after the taking of Vienna, viz., the 27th of October, 1806, Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Berlin, by the magnificent gate of Charlottenburg, accompanied by Marshals Berthier, Davoust and Augereau, by his grand-marshal of the palace, Duroc, and by his master-of-the horse, Caulaincourt. The Imperial Guards, and corps of Davoust, which had so distinguished itself at Auerstadt, were selected to form the escort on this occasion. The whole population of the capital seemed to be assembled in the streets, and testified their grief at the humiliation of their country by profound silence, and in some instances by tears. The Emperor alighted at the royal palace, where the keys of the city were presented to him by General Hullin, who took the opportunity to crave the clemency of the victor towards the inhabitants.

One of the first cares of the Emperor was to form a municipal body of sixty members, the election of which he confided to two thousand of the wealthiest citizens. The city authorities now again repaired to him, having at their head the Prince of Hatzfeld, who had accepted the civil government of Berlin, in the name of the French, but who nevertheless continued to correspond with the King of Prussia, in

order to inform him of the movements of the victorious army. He must, however, have known little of the man he dealt with if he expected to overmaster him by strategy. "Do not present yourself before me," said Napoleon to this prince; "I have no need of your services. Retire to your estates." A few moments after, M. de Hatzfeld was arrested, and handed over to a military commission. It had been one of the first acts of Napoleon to place the Post-office under the direction of his well-trained police, by whom nearly all letters passing to and from Berlin were examined and then carefully re-sealed. By this means an envelope addressed to the Postmaster, containing a letter for Frederick William, fell into the hands of the French. It contained a minute description of the French force, with its number, condition, and the situation of each corps, and was signed by Prince Hatzfeld.

His wife, daughter of M. de Schulenburg, informed of what had just happened, abandoned herself to the most violent despair, when it occurred to her to implore the clemency of Napoleon. Duroc encouraged her in it, and undertook to introduce her. She went, therefore, to the palace, threw herself at the feet of the Emperor, and entreated him to spare the life of her husband, who, she imagined, was only in danger on account of the minister Schulenburg, one of the instigators of the war. Napoleon undeceived her, and informed her that M. de Hatzfeld corresponded with the King of Prussia, which proved that he had only sought the confidence of the French in order to betray them. Madame de Hatzfeld loudly protested the innocence of the prince, asserting that he was the victim of a frightful calumny. "You know the hand-writing of your husband," said the Emperor to her; "you shall judge." He immediately ordered the intercepted letter to be brought, and handed it to the lady. The princess was then more than eight months advanced in pregnancy. The emotion which she evinced on perusing the undeniable proof of her husband's guilt, caused her frequent swoonings, from which she only recovered to give vent to groans and sobs. Napoleon was touched with the position of this unfortunate woman. "Well, Madam," said he to her, "you hold the letter, throw it in the fire. This evidence destroyed, I shall no longer be able to have your husband condemned." This scene took place in front of a fire-place. The letter was burnt, the princess of Hatzfeld hastened to save her husband; and Marshal Berthier immediately received orders to set General Hatzfeld at liberty.

In one of his bulletins, the Emperor had greatly abused the Queen of Prussia. "The Prussians," said he, "assert that the visit of the Emperor Alexander to Potsdam is the cause of all the misfortunes of Prussia. The change which has since taken place in the mind of the queen—who, from a timid, modest woman, occupying herself solely with internal affairs, has become turbulent and warlike—has been

sudden. She immediately desired the command of a regiment, and to attend the council. She has led the monarchy in such a manner, that in a few days she has placed it on the brink of a precipice." The Empress Josephine, on reading this denunciation, published to the whole of Europe, against a young and beautiful Queen, was grievously afflicted; and she explained herself frankly to her husband in a letter, which reproached him with being too frequently disposed to speak ill of women. Napoleon replied: "You seem grieved that I should speak ill of women. It is true that I hate intriguing females above everything. I am accustomed to good, mild, and conciliating women: such as these I love. If they have spoilt me, it is not my fault, but thine. Moreover, thou shalt see that I have behaved well towards one, who proved herself sensible and good—Madame d'Hatzfeld. When I showed her the letter of her husband, she exclaimed sobbing, and with profound innocence and feeling: "It is indeed his handwriting!" Her accents went to my soul: she pained me. I said to her: 'Well, Madam, throw this letter in the fire; I shall then no longer be sufficiently powerful to procure the condemnation of your husband.' She burnt the letter, and appeared to me exceedingly happy. Her husband has since remained quiet; two hours later, he had been lost. Thou seest, therefore, that I love good, frank, and gentle women; but it is because these alone resemble thee."

The day after his entry into Berlin, the Emperor gave audience to the ministers of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Porte. He received the same day the clergy of the divers Protestant communions, as well as the Courts of Justice, which were presented to him by the Chancellor. He conferred with several magistrates on different points of the judicial organization.

During Napoleon's residence in Berlin, he published his famous Decree for the Blockade of the British Isles. This measure had been some time in contemplation, and was intended to destroy the commerce, and by this means the prosperity and power, of England; but which eventually recoiled upon its author, and accelerated, if it did not produce, his downfall. It was dated the 21st of November, 1806. After setting forth the various grounds of complaint against England, in consequence of her barbarous maritime code, and the injustice of extending the evils of war to peaceful and unarmed merchants, the Decree declared the British isles to be in a state of blockade, and all commerce and correspondence with them was prohibited. English subjects found in countries occupied by French troops were to be treated as prisoners of war. All merchandise and property of British owners, and all articles of British manufacture, or the products of her colonies, were declared to be lawful prize. Half of the proceeds derived from confiscation were to be applied to the relief of merchants whose ships had been seized by English cruisers. All English vessels were to be excluded from continental ports, but every one

entering was to be seized and forfeited. Two prize-courts were to be established; one at Paris and the other at Milan.

This arbitrary Decree, even while it was being brought into operation, excited the greatest dissatisfaction throughout Europe; and, according to De Bourrienne, created the Emperor more enemies than if he had dethroned twenty kings. The produce of England could not be excluded from foreign consumption, but its cost was frequently doubled, and even trebled. The habits of several centuries of unrestricted commerce had placed many of the prohibited articles among the necessities of life, and to dispense with them would have occasioned great distress and inconvenience. It was, in fact, a war with the feelings, tastes, and wants of mankind; an attempt to force civilization backward. The difficulties also in carrying out the measure were immense. To exclude commerce entirely required incessant watchfulness, not only at the known ports and harbours, but at every creek, cove, and inlet by which the shores of the continent were indented. "The attempt," says Sir Walter Scott, "resembles that of a child, who tries to stop with his hand the stream of an artificial fountain, which escapes, in a hundred partial jets, from under his palm and between his fingers. The Genius of Commerce, like a second Proteus, assumed every variety of shape, in order to elude the Imperial interdiction, and all manner of evasions were practised for that purpose. False papers, false certificates, false bills of lading, were devised; and these frauds were overlooked in the sea-ports by the very agents of the police and custom-house officers to whom the execution of the decree was committed." Two or three instances will show the futility of the system:—About a week after the publication of the Decree, Napoleon, being about to advance into Poland, required a large quantity of cloth great-coats and vests to clothe his troops. An order was sent to the Minister of Hamburg to procure them, who found it impossible to do so without infringing the new law, the importation of woollen stuffs being prohibited. He was, therefore, compelled to give instructions to the merchants to evade the edict, and the goods were procured illegally. The same means were resorted to in order to execute a second order for two hundred and forty thousand pairs of shoes; for all Germany could not at that time have supplied the requisite materials. Napoleon smiled when he was informed that he had been the first to occasion the infraction of his new law; but he would not allow any punctilious scruples to interfere with the comfortable clothing of his troops.

The disastrous effects of the edict were soon apparent. The commercial towns of France, Germany, and Holland suffered severely from repeated confiscations: the greatest mercantile houses became bankrupt; the fair dealer was reduced to poverty; while the reckless contraband trader had new motives to pursue his calling, with the certainty that a large fortune would be the reward of success.

"Along the whole coast of Germany," says De Bourrienne, "the commercial decrees were sadly infringed. At Hamburg, more than six thousand individuals, chiefly of the populace, were employed in smuggling colonial productions to a great extent, going and returning twenty times a day between Altona and Hamburg, with goods concealed about their persons. I may mention two, however, out of many instances of more wholesale dealings. Between these towns were sand-pits, whence materials were brought to repair one of the principal streets of Hamburg. During the night, the sand-pits were filled with brown sugar, which, of course, nearly resembled the sand in colour. With this sugar the small carts were filled, the load covered with paper, and a layer of sand an inch thick laid over the whole. The paving, as may be supposed, advanced with marvellous slowness, and a considerable time passed before the trick was discovered.

"Upon the right bank of the Elbe, between Altona and Hamburg, lies a small village, inhabited by sailors, labourers in the harbour, and a considerable number of respectable proprietors. Their burial place is within the city of Hamburg. Well, it was observed that a more than ordinary number of hearses, with all the proper decorations and customary rites, passed from this small place. Astonished at the extreme mortality which appeared to have suddenly fallen upon their worthy neighbours, the Hamburg excise ventured, at length, to interrogate one of the defunct. 'Dead men,' they say, 'tell no lies;' and so it happened here, for somehow or other, the lamented deceased could not be found, though most amply provided in the commodities of coffee, sugar, vanilla, indigo, &c."

During these proceedings against England, which Napoleon considered the author of the war, his generals were pursuing their successes against the remains of the Prussian army. On the 28th of October Murat took possession of Brentzlau, and forced Prince Hohenlohe to capitulate with his division. The next day, the fortress of Stettin fell into the hands of General Lasalle, commanding the right of the Grand-duke of Berg; whilst General Milhaud, commanding the left, made a column of six thousand men lay down their arms. Custring yielded, on the 2nd of November, to Marshal Davoust. Mortier possessed himself at the same time of the states of Hesse and Hamburg. At Fulde and at Brunswick, the armouries of the prince of Orange and the Duke were seized. "These two princes shall no longer reign," said the twenty-fourth bulletin; "for they are the chief promoters of this new coalition."

A signal success attended the French under the walls and in the streets of Lubeck. On the 6th of November, Murat, Soult, and Bernadotte, by the skilfulness of their manœuvres, and their combined movements, met before this place, where the famous Blucher, the last hope of the Prussian monarchy, had shut himself up with a large body

of troops. The assault was given; and Bernadotte penetrated into the town by the gate of Trava, whilst Soult entered by that of Mullen. The resistance was animated. The fighting was still continued in the streets; but, on the morning of the 7th, Blucher and the Prince of Brunswick-Oels, at the head of ten Prussian generals, five hundred and eighteen officers, and more than twenty thousand men, presented themselves before the conquerors, demanded to capitulate, and immediately defiled before the French army.



In a few days, the other fortified places submitted in the same manner. Magdeburg opened her gates on the 8th. The French found there eight hundred pieces of cannon, and a garrison of sixteen thousand men. The Emperor had also directed a body of the army towards the Vistula, in pursuit of the King of Prussia, who fled precipitately with the ten or twelve thousand men who still remained with him. On the 10th, Marshal Davoust entered Posen, the inhabitants of which, more Poles than Prussians, received him with enthusiasm. On the 16th, the thirty-second bulletin announced, "that after the taking of Magdeburg and the affair of Lubeck, the campaign against Prussia was entirely at an end." On the same day, a suspension of arms was signed at Charlottenburg.

About the middle of November the Emperor published the following proclamation to his army, from his head-quarters at Charlottenburg:—"Soldiers! You have fulfilled my expectations, and justified the confidence of the French people. You have endured privation and fatigue, with courage equal to the intrepidity and presence of mind which you evinced on the field of battle. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and the glory of the French people.

So long as you continue to be animated by the spirit which you now display, nothing can oppose you. I know not how to distinguish any particular corps. As the result of our campaign, one of the first powers in Europe, which lately proposed to us a dishonourable capitulation, has been overthrown. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the rivers Saale and the Elbe, which our fathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have traversed in seven days; in that short interval we have had four engagements and one great battle. Our entrance into Potsdam and Berlin had been preceded by the fame of our victories. But notwithstanding all this, more than half our troops regret their not having fired a single shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers, the Russians boast of coming to meet us, but we will advance to meet them; we will save them half their march: they will meet another Austerlitz in the midst of Prussia. A nation which can so soon forget our generous treatment of her after that battle, in which the emperor, his court, and the wreck of his army, owed their safety only to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation that cannot successfully contend with us. We will not again be the dupes of a treacherous peace. We will not lay down our arms till we compel the English, those eternal enemies of France, to renounce their plan of disturbing the Continent, and relinquish the tyranny which they maintain on the seas."

While at Berlin the Emperor received a deputation from the French Senate, to congratulate him on his success, and urge that he would, if possible, seek to procure peace; and, at the same time, expressing the profoundest apprehension for his safety should he attempt to cross the Oder. Napoleon was not prepared for this interference with his plans; and told the Senators that they should at least have enquired on which side the obstacles to peace lay. "Our extreme moderation," he continued, "after each of the three first wars, has been the cause of that which has succeeded them. Hence have we had to struggle against a fourth coalition, nine months after those striking victories which Providence had granted us, and which ought to have procured a lengthened repose for the continent.... We are at one of those moments important for the fate of nations; and France will show herself worthy of that which awaits her. The decree which we have ordered to be presented to you will place at your disposal, at the commencement of the year, the conscription for 1807, which, under ordinary circumstances, ought not to have been levied until the month of September. Could we call upon the young Frenchmen to take arms at a nobler period? In order to repair to their standards, they will have to traverse the capitals of our enemies, and the fields of battle rendered famous by their elders."

This demand was justified by the approach of the Russians, before meeting whom, Napoleon wished to prepare himself for commencing

a fresh campaign as soon as the season would permit. He quitted Berlin on the 25th of November, and arrived on the 28th at Posen. Bad weather, fatigue, and privations had relaxed the ardour of the soldiers. After so many battles and victories, and after driving their enemies beyond the Vistula, it seemed that the moment to halt had arrived, instead of hastening to give battle afresh. But the stirring address of Charlottenburg revived their enthusiasm. "The divisions stationed in the rear," says De Bourrienne, "burned to traverse by forced marches the space which separated them from head-quarters; while those near the Emperor forgot their fatigues, their sorrows, and privations, and begged earnestly to be led to the conflict. They recalled the battles in which they had borne a share, marched on cheerfully, through without shoes, passed the long hours without food or shelter, and without complaint."

Before entering upon the campaign, Napoleon wished, by a splendid monument, to commemorate the deeds which had been performed during the last two wars. Accordingly, on the 2nd of December, he published a decree, containing the following ordinances:—

"There shall be erected on the Place de la Madeleine of our good city of Paris, at the expense of the treasury and our crown, a monument dedicated to the Grand Army, having inscribed on the front:

"THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.

"In the interior of the monument shall be inscribed, on marble tablets, the names of all the men, rank and file, who have assisted at the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena; and on tablets of massive gold, the names of all those killed on the field of battle. On tablets of silver there shall be engraved a recapitulation of the soldiers which each department furnished to the Grand Army.

"Around the base shall be sculptured in bas-reliefs representations of the colonels of each regiment, with their names and designations."





CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN IN POLAND.—NAPOLEON AT WARSAW.—PULTUSK.—EYLAU.—FALL OF DANTZIC. — DEPPEN. — FRIEDLAND. — EVACUATION OF KONIGSBERG. — PEACE OF TILSIT. 1806—1807.



EARNING, while at Posen, that the Russian General had retired behind the Wkra, and was there awaiting reinforcements, Napoleon resolved to push forward his forces, in order to attack the enemy before the expected succours could arrive. He saw also the necessity of amusing Austria with friendly demonstrations, in order to keep her undecided, in the same way that he had prevented the hostility of Prussia during the campaign of Austerlitz ; while, by forcing the Russians into premature

engagements, he hoped to destroy their forces in detail, at times and in places selected by himself.

The campaign had already commenced auspiciously. After having beaten the Russians in a skirmish at Lowiez, the French army occupied Varsovia, and obtained the capitulation of Torgau. It passed the Vistula on the 6th, at Thorn, where Marshal Ney still found some Prussians, who were easily dispersed. A remarkable feature distinguished this passage. The boats which conveyed the advance-guard of the French being detained in the middle of the river by the floating ice, some Polish

boatmen hastened to disengage it, in spite of the fire of the enemy, which was immediately directed against them. Seeing that the balls did not arrest them, the Prussians, in their turn, sent some boatmen to oppose the manœuvre of the Poles. A hand to hand struggle



ensued. The Prussians were cast into the water, and the heroic and fraternal assistance of the Poles, crowned with success, conducted the French advanced-guard safely to the right bank of the Vistula.

In a few days the whole army crossed. On the 11th, Marshal Davoust defeated a body of Russians, after having passed the Bug. A treaty of peace was concluded the same day with Saxony. The Elector entered into the Confederation of the Rhine, and received the title of King. This was an important acquisition for the French system, which thus found itself established at the gates of Berlin.

The Emperor made his entry, on the 18th, into Varsovia. He was besieged by the most pressing solicitations to induce him to re-establish the kingdom of Poland. He feared to commit himself, and only replied in such a manner as to leave him free to act hereafter. "I like the Poles," said he to Rapp, "their ardour pleases me. I would willingly make them an independent people; but it is a very difficult matter. Too many nations have had a slice of the cake—Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The match once lighted, there is no saying where the conflagration would cease. My first duty is towards France, and I ought not to sacrifice her for Poland; that would lead us too far. And, besides, we must look to the sovereign of all things, time; that will teach us what we have to do."

In the meanwhile, General Kaminski, irritated by the retrograde march of the other Russian generals, advanced rapidly to meet the French troops. Beningsen and Buxhowden having joined him, he

regarded this union as a sure pledge of victory, and therefore celebrated it at the castle of Sierock, by fêtes and illuminations which the French could perceive from the towers of Varsovia. The Emperor quitted the capital of ancient Poland on the 23rd of December. Several corps had been already pushed over the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug; redoubts, bridges, and *têtes-de-pont*, had been formed, and the Russian detachments were repulsed wherever they presented themselves. On the 24th and 25th of December the French had made between fifteen and sixteen hundred prisoners, taken thirty pieces of cannon, three pair of colours, and a standard. Marshal Ney was not less successful on the following day against the Prussian General Lestocq at Dzcaldow and Mlawa, called Soldau in the bulletins.

The battle of Pultusk on the 26th of December, which General Beningsen represented to his sovereign as a victory obtained over a part of the French army, and which was celebrated as such by the Russian clergy in all the churches, certainly was in effect one of the rudest shocks the French had sustained since their entrance into Poland, where their infantry felt the need of all their intrepidity, to preserve their superiority over the Russians, who had never behaved better than on this occasion. The cavalry conducted themselves with equal bravery.

In General Beningsen's report to the Emperor Alexander, he accused Buxhowden of neglecting to come to his assistance, in crushing that part of the French army with which he was engaged, though this general, he says, was not four leagues from Pultusk. The fact is, that Buxhowden himself was attacked at Golymin, from whence he retreated during the night, much about the time that Beningsen evacuated Pultusk. Beningsen, a Hanoverian by birth, exhibited a similar example of bad faith, in the report which he gave of the battle of Eylau. In the battle of Golymin, General Fenerolle was killed by a bullet; General Rapp received a musket shot; and Marshal Augereau had a horse shot under him.

During these proceedings Marshal Soult marched towards Makow, to cut off the retreat of the enemy's columns; but the wretchedness of the roads and the weather saved the Russian army from an entire defeat. They nevertheless lost eighty pieces of artillery, twelve hundred carriages, and from ten to twelve thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The rest retreated to Ostrolenka.

The news of the pretended victory over the French, at Pultusk, reached Königsberg on the 29th of December, and Beningsen's false bulletin, read in all the squares in the town, excited a general joy. Public rejoicings were ordered on the same occasion; but despatches from General Lestocq, and particularly the arrival of some officers on the 31st, well informed of all the details of the battle, put an end to the illusion. The King of Prussia and his court now thought of nothing but quitting Königsberg; their treasure, their most precious

effects, and the chancery, were packed up in the greatest haste, and directed to Memel. The Queen, whose health began to decline, embarked on the 3rd of January, 1807, for that place, where three days after she was joined by her unfortunate spouse.

Though hostilities had ceased in Poland at the end of 1806, they were continued in Silesia with activity. Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the Emperor, was charged with reducing all the strong places in this province, which the French army, in its rapid march, had left behind it. Plassenberg, near Culmbach upon the Maine, in Franconia, soon surrendered with a garrison of six hundred troops of the line, besides invalids. Glogau was the next place invested, and the conduct of the siege left to General Vandamme: the place capitulated with two thousand five hundred troops. General Vandamme was next ordered to invest Breslau; but being much stronger than the French conceived it to be, this obliged them to construct a number of works. The Prussian governor being also encouraged to hold out, in expectation of relief from Prince Anhalt, and a number of country people under him, he did not surrender the place till the 5th of January, 1807, and even then he was only apprehensive that the setting in of the frost would enable Vandamme to carry it by a *coup de main*. In the defence of Breslau, the Prussian artillery particularly distinguished itself, and proved that it belonged to a good school. The garrison remained prisoners of war, but the officers were liberated upon their parole not to serve against the French.

The Emperor had returned on the 2nd of January to Varsovia. He there received the authorities of the town, the foreign ministers, and a deputation from the kingdom of Italy. In order to excite the emulation of the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, he rewarded the Wirtemberg corps, which had possessed itself of Glogau, by sending to the King of Wirtemberg a portion of the flags taken in that place, and ten decorations of the Legion of Honour, to distribute among the bravest soldiers of this corps.

During his sojourn at Varsovia, the Emperor received the following petition:—"Sire, my baptismal certificate dates from the year 1690; I am, therefore, a hundred and seventeen years old. I still bear in mind the battle of Vienna, and the days of John Sobieski. I imagined they would never be reproduced; but assuredly I expected less to have seen the days of Alexander revived. My great age has procured me the bounty of all the sovereigns who have been here, and I implore that of the Great Napoleon, being, at my advanced age, incapable of work. May you live, sire, as long as myself; not that your glory requires it, but that the happiness of mankind demands it.

"NAROCKI."

The Emperor, to whom this old man personally presented his petition, hastened to accede to his demand. He granted him a pension of a hundred napoleons, and gave him a year's pay in advance.

Napoleon well knew, that unless he established a line of defence upon the Vistula, the Russians might possibly surprise the rear of his army in Eastern Prussia and this part of Poland. This line extended



to the Baltic sea, and was brought as near as possible to Königsberg. Towards the beginning of January, 1807, movements on both sides seemed to indicate more serious operations. It appeared the Russians had adopted a vast plan of defence. Their generals seemed to have regained confidence, on seeing Napoleon stop in the midst of the advantages he had gained, and imputed that to fear, which in him arose from motives of prudence. They could not imagine what other reason he could possibly have for going into cantonments upon the Vistula.

But upon the very first movement made by the Russian army, Napoleon having partly anticipated the plan of attack, ordered Bernadotte to fall back, to encourage the enemy in the prosecution of his designs. This movement had the desired effect; and on the 25th of January, Bernadotte had orders to proceed with the division of General Drouet to Mohringen, where he fell in with the Russians,

attacking General Pacthod in his position. The action soon became general, and terminated gloriously, especially as a part of Bernadotte's troops had marched several leagues to arrive at the field of battle. The loss of the Russians was considerable; that of the French was from two to three hundred killed and wounded. Bernadotte had orders to continue his retrograde movement to Thorn, to draw the Russians nearer the Vistula; but the officer who carried these orders being taken by the Cossacks, the Russian general avoided the snare laid for him.

On the 6th of February, the rear guard of the Russian army was attacked near Hoff, and the village carried. The Russians continued their retreat; but on the 7th, at day-break, the French advanced-guard overtook them about a quarter of a league from Preuss-Eylau, when a sanguinary contest took place, especially with the Russians who had been stationed in the church and church-yard of this place. At ten at night both these positions were carried, the town of Eylau taken, and the streets covered with dead bodies. The Emperor then caused the division of Legrand to advance beyond the town, and that under St. Hilaire to move to the right; Augereau's corps was placed in the rear of Eylau, upon the left; and the Emperor fixed his headquarters upon the plain behind Eylau, in the midst of the infantry of the guard; and in these positions the army passed the night between the 7th and 8th.

At break of day, on the 8th, the Russian army, eighty thousand strong, appeared in columns within half cannon-shot of Eylau, with a formidable artillery in its front, which soon commenced a warm cannonade upon the division of St. Hilaire, and upon the town. To answer this terrible fire, the Emperor repaired to the position near the church, and besides the artillery of the two corps under Soult and Augereau, ordered all that of his guard, consisting of sixty pieces, to advance. Augereau's corps was drawn up in two lines towards the left of St. Hilaire's division, and between that and the church-yard, so obstinately defended on the preceding night. The Emperor arrived near the church at the moment when a line of the enemy's tirailleurs were advancing to get possession of this post, but the dispositions he ordered paralyzed their attack.

The violent and well-directed fire of the French artillery caused great ravages in the enemy's masses: to withdraw from this, they made a movement to their right to carry the position at a wind-mill, at the extremity of the left of Leval's division, formed to the left of Legrand's corps, and some of the first houses in the town. In this critical situation, Napoleon order St. Hilaire's division to move upon the extremity of the enemy's left, whilst Augereau's division, formed in columns, debouched upon the centre of the same line, to repulse the Russian tirailleurs who had advanced to the foot of the little hill, upon which the church and church-yard of Eylau are situated.

Scarcely had this movement disengaged the French left, when the atmosphere was suddenly obscured by a thick fall of snow, which covered both armies. During this obscurity, which lasted half an hour, the head of Marshal Augereau's column lost its way, and went too far to the left. When the sky cleared up, the Emperor, to remedy this false step, ordered the Grand Duke of Berg to place himself at the head of the divisions of Milhaud, Klein, Grouchy, and d'Hautpoul, in order to fall upon the enemy's right flank. This manœuvre was executed with equal precision and intrepidity. The Russian infantry, impetuously charged, was overthrown, and lost the artillery in their front.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussian division under General Lestocq was seen to arrive on the extreme left of the French army, near the village of Altdorf, closely pursued by Marshal Ney. The head of this corps, consisting of grenadiers, seeing the Russian columns retreating towards Königsberg, quickened their pace to come to their assistance. The enemy's rear-guard wished to take possession of the village of Schnaditten, to give time to the wounded and the artillery to file off; but this they found already occupied by Marshal Ney's advanced-guard. Six battalions of Russian grenadiers arriving at this village, were received by a discharge of musketry within pistol-shot, and were afterwards charged with the bayonet. The remains of the enemy's rear-guard completed their retreat in disorder, and night put an end to the pursuit. The charge executed by the Grand Duke of Berg, and that of the Imperial guard, were among the most brilliant. Twenty thousand infantry, overthrown, had abandoned their artillery, and the victory would then have been decided, had it not been for the wood of Sausgarten and the inequality of the ground.

The carnage in this dreadful battle was immense. Sir Walter Scott computes the number slain on both sides at fifty thousand; but this is no doubt an exaggeration. The French accounts give about six thousand as the number killed and twenty thousand wounded on the part of the Russians, and three thousand killed and fifteen thousand wounded on that of the French. The corps of Augereau had suffered severely, and of one regiment of cuirassiers only eighteen men remained alive after the action—General d'Hautpoul being among the slain. The field of battle was literally covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded; the havoc and misery being greatly increased by the severity of the weather, and the desolation of the surrounding country.

After various battles, which have given some celebrity to villages hitherto unknown, such as Peterwalde, Gustadt, Lignau, etc., but which produced no important result for the issue of the campaign, the head-quarters of the Emperor were established on the 25th of April at Finkenstein. While here he issued a decree respecting the theatres of Paris, which he divided into major and minor theatres. He also

despatched a message to the Senate demanding recruits, in order to fill up the losses sustained in the recent sanguinary battles.

Dantzic had been invested since the month of March, but had been strengthened by several Russian regiments which had been sent there by sea. General Kalkreuth commanded in the place. The besieging army was under the orders of Marshal Lefebvre. After several un-availing sallies, the garrison thought itself on the point of being delivered. On the 13th of May, General Kaminski, son of the field-marshal of that name, came to the succour of the town, and attacked the French army. But the Emperor, warned in time of his design, had sent Marshal Lannes and General Oudinot to reinforce Marshal Lefebvre; and the Russians were vigorously repulsed at the battle of Weischelmunde. Obligated to fall back upon the fortifications of this place, they hastily transported their wounded on board the ships which had served to convey them, and sent them back to Königsberg in sight of the besieged, who, from their ramparts, beheld the disgraceful flight of their pretended liberators. Encouraged by this success, the besiegers pushed their labours with the greatest activity. On the 17th of May, a mine was sprung; on the 21st, Marshal Lefebvre gave the signal for assault, and the soldiers had already commenced operations, when General Kalkreuth demanded to capitulate on the conditions which he had himself formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence, which was accorded him. Napoleon attached such importance to the taking of Dantzic, that, on the first news which he had of it at his head-quarters at Finkenstein, he hastened to order the clergy to return thanks publicly for the conquest; and Marshal Lefebvre, as a reward for the valour and conduct he had displayed during the siege, was created Duke of Dantzic.

The campaign was re-opened on the 5th of June, the Russians commencing hostilities by a vigorous attack on the bridge of Spanden. Twelve regiments endeavoured to carry it: vigorously repulsed, they renewed their efforts seven times, and seven times were defeated. At length, a single regiment of dragoons, the 17th, belonging to Bernadotte's corps, charged them in so spirited a manner after their seventh assault, that they gave way and beat a retreat. A similar attempt on the bridge of Lomitten had no better success. The Russian general there lost his life. Marshal Solt guarded this bridge.

The Imperial Russian guard, sustained by three divisions, and commanded by the General-in-chief who accompanied the Grand-duke Constantine, was not more fortunate against the positions which Marshal Ney occupied at Altkirken. The brilliant fight at Deppen, which took place on the following day, cost the Russians two thousand dead and three thousand wounded. The success of the French army was attributed, in the official account, "to the skilful manœuvres of Marshal Ney, to the intrepidity which he exhibited and communicated to his troops, and to the talent displayed by the general of division Marchand."

On the 14th of June, the Russian army debouched upon the bridge of Friedland, and attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Lannes, whose corps followed in the first line, as well as that of Marshal Mortier, who were supported by General Grouchy's dragoons and Nansouty's cuirassiers. The Russian General-in-chief, who foresaw that Napoleon would attempt to cut off his retreat to Königsberg, made every effort to overthrow the only two corps that were then before him; but these being well supported by the cavalry, prevented the enemy from passing beyond the village of Pothnem. In the



meanwhile two other corps, under Marshals Ney and Victor, arrived upon the field of battle with the Imperial guard, and the Emperor assigned them their posts. At five o'clock all the preparatory movements were completed. The Emperor made the following dispositions: the right of the army was formed by the troops under Marshal Ney, having the dragoons of Latour Maubourg as a reserve in the rear. Marshal Lannes was in the centre; his reserve consisted of La Housaye's dragoons and the Saxon cuirassiers; on the left was the corps under Marshal Mortier, supported by Grouchy's dragoons and a division of French cuirassiers: the reserve was formed by the troops under General Victor and the Imperial guard.

General Beningsen, aware of the importance of preserving Friedland, made a violent attack upon the left of Marshal Ney; but was briskly repulsed with the bayonet by Marchand's division. The enemy's columns were driven into the Aller, and several thousands of

them drowned; only a few saved themselves by swimming: in the meanwhile Marshal Ney arrived at the ravine that surrounds Friedland.

When the General-in-chief perceived that Napoleon directed his principal attack upon this point, upon which the Russian Imperial guard, horse and foot, had been placed in ambush, they debouched with great intrepidity as soon as the French division was within shot, which threw Marshal Ney's column into some confusion. Upon this General Victor brought up Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve: these fresh troops attacked the Russian Imperial guard, overthrew them, and made a great carnage. This check compelled the Russian general to draw new reinforcements from his centre and his reserves to defend Friedland. A part of the enemy's left wing pushed upon Friedland, were shut up in a narrow space between the Aller and a brook, which in a manner separated them from the rest of the line, having the troops of Marshal Ney in front, whilst they were hard pressed by Dupont. The Marshal faced the reinforcements sent upon this point by General Beningsen: in this situation, and crushed by the fire of the French artillery, the Russians fell back into Friedland in great disorder; which town was soon forced, and the streets covered with their dead. At this moment the town presented the most frightful spectacle of the horrors of war: the Russians who had escaped the bayonets of the French, traversed the bridge of Friedland in the greatest confusion, to gain the right bank of the Aller; almost all the artillery of this part of their army, and a great number of prisoners, remained in the power of the victors.

At eleven at night, the victory, which had not been doubtful for a moment, was complete; the Imperial guard, horse and foot, excepting the fusiliers under General Savary, and two divisions of the first corps, had not been engaged. Fifteen thousand of the enemy's dead covered the field of battle; seventy pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, many colours, and some thousands of prisoners, were the trophies of this memorable day: the Russian cavalry had suffered an immense loss; twenty-five generals, and a considerable number of officers, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Owing to the position of the French, by which they were in a great measure covered, their killed and wounded did not exceed six thousand; the Russians, on the contrary, had been for a long time exposed to the murderous and well directed fire of a formidable artillery.

As soon as the news of this victory reached Königsberg, the Russians and Prussians immediately evacuated the place. Marshal Soult entered there on the 16th of June, and found immense riches, stores of grain, more than twenty thousand wounded, ammunition of all kinds, and among other things, a hundred and sixty thousand muskets, recently arrived from England, and still on board ship. On the 19th, the Emperor held his head-quarters at Tilsit.

On the 21st he received a message from the Emperor Alexander desiring an armistice, which was immediately conceded, and accompanied with an offer for a personal interview to treat for a definitive peace. On the 22nd, Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to his army:—"Soldiers! On the 5th. of June, we were attacked in our encampments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inaction, and perceived, too late, that ours was the repose of the lion: they now repent of their oversight. From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the waters of the Niémen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you have this year celebrated that of the battle of Marengo, which put an end to the war of the second coalition. Frenchmen, your deeds have been worthy of yourselves and me. You will return to France decked with all your laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace, which bears with it a guarantee of its duration."

The bases of peace were arranged by the three monarchs in an interview which took place on the Niémen. On the 25th of June, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Napoleon, accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Duroc, and Caulaincourt, repaired in a boat to the middle



of the river, where some pavilions had been set up on rafts in order to receive the two Emperors and the King of Prussia. At the same moment, Alexander embarked on the opposite shore, with the Grand-duke Constantine, General Beningsen, General Ouvaroff, Prince Lebanoff and the Count de Lieven. The two boats arrived at the same time. On setting foot on the raft, Alexander and Napoleon hastened to give the two armies, encamped on either bank, a precursory sign of reconciliation; they embraced each other, and afterwards passed several hours together. The conference ended, the monarchs regained their separate boats and returned to their camps.

On the next day, the 26th, a second interview took place in the pavilion of the Niémen, at which the King of Prussia assisted. During several days, the three princes visited each other frequently, and gave *fêtes*. The most intimate friendship seemed to have suddenly replaced the hostile dispositions which had caused so much blood to be shed; an example which was followed by the officers and soldiers of the several armies. Sir Walter Scott observes, "that it was difficult to conceive that men so courteous and amiable had been for many months drenching trampled snows and muddy wastes with each other's blood."

The Queen of Prussia arrived at Tilsit at noon on the 6th of July. Two hours after, Napoleon paid her a visit. She insisted, it is said, on the conditions of peace being rendered less hard for her crown. The fascinating manners, wit, and adroitness of this young and beautiful princess were such that, as Napoleon afterwards admitted, had she been present at the commencement of the negotiations, she might have exercised considerable influence on the result; but all the seductive powers with which nature and education had endowed her could not in the least change the resolutions taken before her arrival. At a dinner given by Napoleon, the Queen exerted all her talents to extort promises of favour, and with such effect, that Napoleon was compelled to keep a strict guard over his words—a species of con-



straint which required the utmost vigilance, and being new to the Emperor, more than once drove him almost to extremity. The importunities of the Queen, however, were the means of accelerating the

conclusion of the treaty, for in the evening, when she had retired, orders were sent to Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin, to bring the negotiations to a close forthwith. "A woman and a piece of gallantry," observed Napoleon, "ought not to be permitted to interfere with arrangements conceived for the welfare of nations." On the 8th, the treaty of peace was signed. France caused the continental blockade to be acknowledged by the kingdoms of Saxony, Holland, and Westphalia (this last was created for the benefit of Jerome at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse), and the Grand-duchy of Varsovia, which joined the confederation of the Rhine, of which Napoleon was proclaimed *Protector* by the great powers of the North, against whom this alliance had been chiefly constituted.

Before quitting Tilsit, Napoleon had presented to him the bravest soldier of the Imperial Russian guard, and conferred on him the golden eagle of the Legion of Honour, in testimony of his esteem for this body. At the same time, the Emperor was presented with a portrait of the brave Cossack hetman, Platoff. Several baschirs, sent by Alexander, came to perform a concert before him, after the fashion of their country.

On the 9th of July, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Napoleon, decorated with the broad riband of St. Andrew, repaired to the Emperor of Russia, whom he found at the head of his guard, wearing the grand decoration of the Legion of Honour. After passing three hours together, they mounted their horses and took the road towards the banks of the Niémen, where Alexander embarked. Napoleon followed him with his eye, until he had reached the opposite shore, in token of amity. The King of Prussia having come soon after to see the Emperor of the French, the latter immediately returned his visit, and afterwards departed for Königsberg.





CHAPTER XXII.

REJOICINGS IN PARIS.—OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION.—SUPPRESSION OF THE TRIBUNATE.—OCCUPATION OF PORTUGAL.—WAR WITH SPAIN.—MURAT ENTERS MADRID.—ENGLISH OPERATIONS.—CONVENTION OF CINTRA.—NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT ERFURTH.—NEW INVASION OF SPAIN BY THE EMPEROR.—CAMPAIGN OF SIR JOHN MOORE.—CORUNNA.—ARMING OF AUSTRIA.—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS. 1807—1809.



LOUD and hearty were the congratulations of the French people on the return of their triumphant ruler to Paris. All parties—even the Republicans and Bourbons—were seized with the enthusiasm of the moment, and united in paying homage to the extraordinary man who seemed destined, by Heaven, to make the country and people the greatest and most glorious on the face

of the earth. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the language used by the various deputations sent to congratulate him was extravagant and hyperbolic. In these addresses it was confidently predicted that the war was at an end, that the alliance of the Emperor of Russia and the German States, and the establishment of the Continental blockade, would speedily reduce England to submission, and open a new era for the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country.

One of the first acts of the Emperor was to reward those who had distinguished themselves during the campaign by their military

services, or by their wisdom in civil office during his absence. He conferred the dignity of senator on the Generals of division Klein and Beaumont; on the tribunes Curée and Fabre de l'Aude; and on the archbishop of Turin and M. Dupont, one of the mayors of Paris. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, was appointed Vice-Grand Elector; and Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel, received the title of Vice-Consul. A great number of crosses of the Legion of Honour were distributed among the officers and soldiers of the army, and to distinguished men in literature, science, and art.

On the 15th of August, the Emperor's birth-day, and also the festival of his sainted namesake and of the Assumption, Napoleon repaired in great pomp to Notre Dame, where a *Te Deum* was chanted, and thanksgiving offered up for the peace of Tilsit. On this occasion a bishop of the Catholic church, from the pulpit of the cathedral, pronounced the following blasphemous sentences:—"God, in his sacred mercy, made choice of Napoleon to be his representative upon earth. The Queen of Heaven [the Virgin Mary] has deigned, by the most munificent gifts, to mark the anniversary of that day which witnessed her own reception into the celestial mansions. Holy Virgin! it is not without an especial dispensation of thy love for the French people, and of thine all-powerful influence with thy Son, that to the chief of these thy solemn days should belong the birth of the Great Napoleon. God decreed, that from thy sepulchre should spring a hero!"

A deputation from the kingdom of Italy came to join its congratulations to those of the great bodies of the Empire; with which Napoleon expressed himself pleased. "I have experienced a sincere joy," said he, "during the course of the campaign, at the distinguished conduct which has signalized my Italian troops. For the first time, for many centuries, have the Italians appeared with honour on the great stage of the world. I trust that so favourable a commencement will excite the emulation of the nation; that even the women will send away those idle youths who languish in the boudoir, or will, at least, not receive them until they shall be covered with honourable scars. I am in hopes that before the approach of winter, I shall be enabled to make a tour through my Italian states."

The opening of the Legislative Session took place on the 16th of August. The Emperor, in his speech on the occasion, made use of an expression flattering to the vanity of Frenchmen. "I feel it my proudest boast," said he, "to be the first among you." Perhaps he thought it necessary to excite the imagination of the people, for he was about to abolish the last vestige of the Republican Constitution of Sieyès—this was the Tribunate. It is true this body had long ceased to exercise any power or influence in the State. Napoleon had resolved to suppress the institution, not because he feared it as an opponent, for it had been one of the readiest instruments of his ambi-

tion, but because, as he himself stated to Las Cases at St. Helena, "it was absolutely useless, yet cost nearly half a million of francs (about twenty thousand pounds) per annum." It must be admitted, nevertheless, that in this action Napoleon failed to exhibit his usual forethought. The French people, proud as they were of their ruler and his fame, had persuaded themselves that in the Assembly chosen from their own ranks, although not directly expressing their sentiments, they retained a voice in the administration of affairs. The suppression of the Tribunate dispelled the illusion, and convinced them that their chief considered his authority absolute, and was not disposed to admit any to share in the government but such as were necessary to divide the burthen of its duties. The Tribunes themselves, however, evinced an exemplary resignation. More courtier-like than ever, they thanked and blessed the hand which struck them, and seemed thereby to wish to justify the Emperor, by proving to France that the suppression of their body had nothing alarming for the national liberties, and that there would be one lie the less in the constitution of the State. The Emperor also ordered some changes in the organization of the Legislative Body, and in the form of its deliberations. It was requisite for the members of this body to be forty years of age, and its political existence was centred in three commissioners, who were to confer with the commissioners of the Council of State on every project of law, the decision of which was reserved exclusively for the Government. The Commercial Code was voted in this session.

The war continued in the north, between France and Sweden. On the 19th of August, the village of Stralsund was taken by the French, and the island of Rugen having capitulated on the 3rd of September following, the conquest of Swedish Pomerania was complete. The King of Sweden remained, nevertheless, faithful to the English alliance.

Napoleon, doubtless, was grieved at seeing the Baltic open to the British flag, and the court of Stockholm obstinately opposed to the Continental Blockade. But there was still another kingdom, whose constant relations with England more disarranged the French system; this was Portugal. The house of Braganza, allied by its commercial interests, as well as by its political affinities, with Great Britain, submitted to everything required by the English cabinet, and paid no attention to the decree of Berlin, though it officially declared itself to be in a state of hostility with England. This bold opposition to his favourite project greatly irritated the Emperor, who at length decided upon sending a powerful force into Portugal. The expedition was placed under the command of Junot. Arrangements had previously been made with the court of Madrid for the passage of the Imperial troops through Spain.

Whilst Junot marched towards the Tagus, Napoleon again prepared to visit the banks of the Po and the Adriatic. Before his departure

he received, at a solemn audience, the Persian ambassador, who was the bearer of magnificent presents for the Emperor, at whose feet he laid, among other remarkable objects, the sabres of Tamerlane and of Kouli-Khan.

Napoleon left Paris on the 16th of November, 1807, and arrived at Milan on the 21st. A few days after, the Imperial guard, covered with the laurels of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, made their triumphal entry into the capital. Their arrival was the signal for great rejoicings. The Parisian authorities resolved to feast these brave warriors in the Hotel de Ville, and the Senate in its own palace. The Emperor did not stay long at Milan; he was anxious to make himself known to the new subjects which the treaty of Presburg had given him. He arrived at Venice on the 29th of November, on the same day that Junot, having traversed Spain, possessed himself of Abrantes, the first town in Portugal. The next day, the French army entered Lisbon, which the royal family had abandoned in sight of their dismayed people, in order to repair on board an English squadron, and withdraw to the Brazils.

After having travelled through the Venetian states and Lombardy, and met at Mantua with his brother Lucien, whom he wished to marry to the daughter of the Prince of the Asturias, Napoleon returned to the capital of his kingdom of Italy. He there published divers letters-patent, which conferred the title of Prince of Venice on the viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, and that of Princess of Bologna on his daughter Josephine. Melzi, the ancient president of the Cisalpine Republic, became Duke of Lodi. The Emperor having caused these acts to be read to the Italian legislative body, addressed them himself in the following manner: "Gentlemen, it is with pleasure that I see you surrounding my throne. At my return, after an absence of three years, I am rejoiced to observe the progress which my people have made; but how much still remains to be done, in order to efface the faults of our fathers, and to render you worthy of the destiny which I am preparing for you. The intestine divisions of our ancestors, occasioned by their miserable egotism, led to the loss of all their rights. The country was disinherited of its rank and dignity—that country which, in bygone ages, had spread afar the honour of its arms, and the fame of its virtues. That fame, those virtues, I will make it my duty to re-conquer."

While Napoleon was thus occupied in Italy, the British Government was exerting all its powers to defeat the league which had been formed against its commerce. In the beginning of August an expedition consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, and a great number of frigates and smaller vessels, having on board twenty thousand soldiers, under the command of Lord Cathcart, entered the Baltic, with instructions to demand of Denmark, the only northern power which possessed a fleet of any extent, the delivery of its ships and naval

stores to Great Britain, to be held in trust until the proclamation of peace. The relations between the two countries at this time were of the most friendly nature, and no intimation had been given of the hostile intentions of England. Hence the object of the armament was unsuspected, when Admiral Gambier, with his armed freight, passed the Sound, and, entering the Baltic, blockaded the island of Zealand, on which Copenhagen is situated. Mr. Jackson, the British minister, now communicated to the Crown Prince the requisitions of his Government, which were stated to have arisen from a fear that the French Emperor would not permit Denmark to remain neutral, but would seize and employ her fleet in his meditated attempt to invade England. The Danish Prince indignantly refused compliance with these unjust demands, and prepared to offer the utmost resistance in his power to the unprovoked aggression. The British force, however, was too powerful, and their course of proceeding too well arranged, for any hasty plan of defence to be availing. A portion of the troops were landed, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley—now first heard of in connection with European warfare—and, in conjunction



with the fleet, commenced bombarding Copenhagen. The Danes bravely withstood the terrific cannonade for three days, during which many public buildings and an immense number of private habitations and great part of the population were destroyed, when they were

compelled to surrender the citadel and forts. The captured fleet was immediately fitted for sea, and all the naval stores embarked, when the English withdrew. The British ministry defended this gross outrage on the ground of expediency. It, nevertheless, excited great indignation in the country, and, some years afterwards, a large sum was voted by Parliament to be paid to the Danes as compensation for the losses sustained during the bombardment.

The attack on Copenhagen was universally condemned throughout Europe. Russia was among the first to denounce the odious violation of the rights of nations. Alexander expressed regret at having ever entered into engagements with England, annulled every convention that had been entered into between Russia and Great Britain, and laid an embargo on all British vessels and property in his dominions. Napoleon received intelligence of the event while in Italy, but took little public notice of it. Perhaps he was not sorry for the occurrence, as it converted Denmark into an ally of France. He, however, issued a new manifesto, by which all European nations were prohibited from trading with England, or dealing in articles of British manufacture.

Fresh territorial combinations still fixed the attention of the Emperor during his stay in Italy. Tuscany and the Legations were destined to form part of the French Empire. After having prepared everything for this reunion, he again took the road to France. At Chambéry a young man solicited an audience, to entreat him to put an end to the exile of his mother. This was M. de Stael. Napoleon received him well personally, but remained very harsh towards the daughter of Necker, and towards Necker himself. "Your mother," said he to him, "ought to be satisfied with being at Vienna; she will have a good opportunity of learning German. . . . I do not say that she is a mischievous woman. . . . She has mind; she has too much, perhaps; but it is a mind insubordinate and without curb. She has been brought up in the chaos of a crumbling monarchy and the Revolution; she amalgamates all this, which might become dangerous! If she were exalted, she would make proselytes. I ought to see to this. She loves me not; and for the interest of those whom she would compromise, I must not let her return to Paris." Young De Stael protested that the intention of his mother was not to give any sort of umbrage to the Imperial government; she desired only to see a small number of friends, a list of whom should even be submitted to the approval of the Emperor. He then added: "Some persons have told me that it was the last work of my grandfather which had ill-disposed you towards my mother; I can, however, assure your majesty, that she had no hand in it."—"Yes, certainly," replied the Emperor, "this work went a great way. Your grandfather was an idealist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to desire to throw down my constitution, and form plans for another! In faith, kingdoms

would be well governed by these men of system, these inventors of theories, who judge of men by books, and of the world by a chart! . . . The work of your grandfather is the work of an obstinate old man, who died enraged at the government of kingdoms." At these words the grandson of Necker was roused, and, interrupting the Emperor, told him that doubtless he had received an account of the book from malevolent persons, and that he had not read it himself, since his grandfather rendered justice in it to the genius of Napoleon. "It is that which deceives you," promptly replied the Emperor; "I have read it myself from beginning to end. Yes, he renders me pretty justice! he calls me the necessary man! and, according to his work, the first thing to do was to cut the throat of this necessary man. . . . You are young; if you had my experience, you would judge of things better. Far from annoying, your frankness has pleased me; I like to see a son plead the cause of his mother. . . . Nevertheless, I do not wish to raise in you any false hopes, and I cannot hide from you that you will obtain nothing." M. de Stael withdrew, and the Emperor said afterwards to Duroc: "Was I not somewhat harsh with this young man? I think so. Well, after all I am very glad of it; it will deter others from coming on the same errand. These sort of people misrepresent everything that I do; they cannot understand me."

Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 1st of January, 1808. Three days after, accompanied by the Empress Josephine, he visited the celebrated painter David in his study, in order to view his large picture of the "Coronation."

We now approach a period in the life of the Emperor from which the decline of his power may be dated—the war with Spain. His star had gradually risen till it culminated at the peace of Tilsit, and surrounding nations beheld it with astonishment and awe. The reverses consequent on his interference in the affairs of the Peninsula dispelled the illusion entertained of his invincibility, and his fall was as rapid as had been his elevation. De Bourrienne asserts that Napoleon never entertained any designs against Spain and Portugal until the vacillating policy of the former and the opposition of the latter to his commercial schemes forced on him a consideration of the state of the two kingdoms. However this may be, the injustice and immorality, as well as the fatal consequences, were afterwards acknowledged by Napoleon himself. "I disdained," he said to Las Cases at St. Helena, "to descend to crooked and common-place expedients. I struck from too great an elevation for that; but I confess that I engaged in the business without sufficient preconsideration. The transaction, since my failure, has assumed a disgusting aspect—being exhibited in hideous nakedness, void of all loftiness of idea, and unsupported by the benefits I intended to confer upon the people of the wretched countries which I seized. . . . The war, however,

proved my ruin. It compelled me to divide my forces, and multiply my efforts, and left my principles assailable. At the time it was undertaken, England had lost the esteem of the Continent by her unjustifiable attack upon Copenhagen. My movement against the Peninsula occasioned a revulsion of public feeling. England then seemed justified, and I alone the aggressor. Britain, from that moment, was enabled to resume the offensive. The trade of North America was thrown open to her; she was encouraged to form an army in the Peninsula; and eventually became the victorious agent of Europe."

The affairs of Spain at this period were in a highly complicated and unsettled state. Godoy, the Queen's lover, who was styled the Prince of Peace, by humouring the imbecile Charles IV., had acquired an absolute dominion over the kingdom. The treasures of South America were at his disposal, and he employed them in the grossest dachaeries and most open profligacy. The people had long beheld the conduct of the court with disgust. The Prince of Asturias, heir to the throne, and his brother Don Carlos, taking advantage of the popular discontent, formed a powerful party with the purpose of dethroning the King and punishing his unworthy favourite. Ferdinand openly avowed himself the enemy of Godoy, and called for his removal. The Prince of Peace, on the other hand, accused Ferdinand of aspiring to the crown, and of entertaining designs against the life of the King. This was the state of affairs when each party, almost at the same period, applied to Napoleon for assistance and protection; and the Emperor, to use his own words, "resolved to turn the circumstances to his advantage, by freeing himself from the Spanish Bourbons, continuing the family system of Louis XIV. in his own dynasty, regenerating Spain, and binding her to the destinies of France." He immediately wrote to Charles, promising his protection; and, as a preliminary measure, he ordered the army of reserve, which had been assembled at Bayonne, to cross the Pyrenees, and take possession of the frontier fortresses of Spain. Murat was appointed commander-in-chief. The chief fortified towns opened their gates to the French as allies, who thus obtained possession of the chief strongholds without striking a blow. Murat himself marched upon Madrid, and, in the beginning of March, 1808, fixed his headquarters at Burgos.

As soon as the approach of the French was known in Madrid, the people became mutinous, and the court fled to Aranjuez. Godoy, who had for a moment flattered himself with having deceived Napoleon, and secured him for his own interests, perceived the vanity of his hopes, and basely counselled Charles IV. to imitate the house of Braganza, and retire to Spanish America. The King could not do other than obey his favourite; he consented to set out immediately for Seville; but the preparations for departure irritated the Castilian

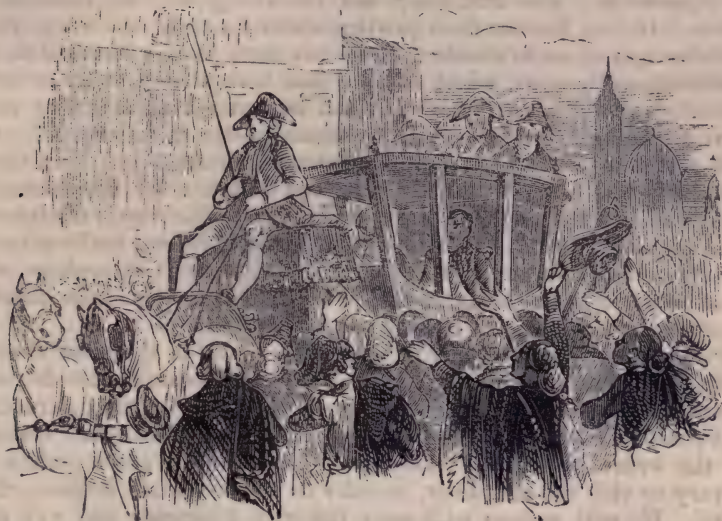
pride. The suspicion of perfidy, which fell on the Prince of Peace, was received with more credit and became more violent. On the 16th of March the national anger exploded. The palace of Aranjuez was beset by a furious populace, demanding with loud cries the head of Godoy. The favourite's hotel was broken into and pillaged; and he himself only escaped certain death by being concealed in a loft. Then Charles IV., who had endeavoured to calm the people, by announcing to them that the Prince of Peace consented to give up all his offices, beheld himself forced to lay down the royal dignity. He published a solemn act of abdication in favour of the Prince of the Asturias, who immediately took the title of Ferdinand VII., and commenced his reign by the confiscation of the property of Godoy, who had been thrown into prison, in order there to await the judicial vengeance of the new monarch.

Scarcely had the first rumour of these events reached Burgos, than Murat hastened to march upon Madrid. He entered there on the 23rd of March, at the head of six thousand soldiers of the guard, and



the corps of Dupont and Moncey, in the midst of a stupified and mistrustful, but untterrified people. The next day, Ferdinand VII. quitted Aranjuez in order also to make his entry into the capital of Spain. The ominous silence which on the preceding evening had marked the reception of the French, was changed to the highest enthusiasm on the approach of the new King. The entire population

hastened to meet him, impatient to salute the prince who had delivered them from the ignominious yoke of Godoy.



The diplomatic body sanctioned by an official juggle the events of Aranjuez, and made no scruple of acknowledging the king of the revolt. The French ambassador alone, in accordance with instructions from Murat, avoided declaring himself. The French generalissimo sent, moreover, a message to Charles IV., to assure him of his protection, and to offer him his assistance. At first, the old King only thought of recovering his favourite. "He has no other fault," said he, "than that of having been attached to me all my life; the death of my unfortunate friend would ensure mine." Godoy was therefore restored to him.

Charles IV. afterwards protested against the abdication which the popular insurrection had torn from him. In a letter to the Emperor, which he charged Murat to convey to him, he denounced the violence to which he had been subjected. The Prince of the Asturias also wrote to Napoleon, whose powerful intervention in favour of his father he dreaded, in order to justify the events which had prematurely raised him to the throne, and to rest his budding authority on the support of the French alliance. Napoleon comprehended, by the receipt of these two letters, that the pretended masters of the Spanish monarchy placed themselves at his feet, incapable as they both were of sustaining its burthen. But the character of the Spanish nation occasioned him some fears, and still left him in uncertainty. "Do not imagine," he wrote to Murat, on the 29th of March, "that you

have but to exhibit your troops in order to subject Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March, proves that there is energy amongst the Spaniards. The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. If they fear for their privileges and for their existence, they will rise against us in shoals. Spain has more than a hundred thousand men under arms, which is more than is requisite to carry on with advantage an internal war. Divided on several points, they may serve as an obstacle to the total overthrow of the monarchy. I present you at a glance with some obstacles which are inevitable; there are others which you will feel. England will not let this occasion escape of multiplying our embarrassments. The royal family not having quitted Spain, to establish itself in the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the state of this country. It is, perhaps, the least prepared of any state in Europe for it. If it were in the interest of my empire, I could do much good to Spain.

“Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and he is therefore elected king. To place him on the throne, would be to serve the factions which, during five-and-twenty years, have longed for the destruction of France. We must do nothing precipitately, but must take counsel on the events which are likely to follow. I have given orders to Savary to visit the new king, in order to observe what is going forward. He will concert with your imperial highness; and you will manage so that the Spaniards may not suspect the part which I intend playing. This will not be difficult for you; I know nothing of it myself. You will tell them that the Emperor desires to see perfected the political institutions of Spain, in order to place her on a footing of equality with the advanced civilization of the rest of Europe; that Spain has need of recreating her governmental machine, and that she requires laws which may guarantee the citizens from the tyranny of the feudal system—institutions which will reanimate industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will paint to them the state of tranquillity and the ease enjoyed by France, despite the wars in which she is engaged; the splendour of the religion, which owes its establishment to the Concordat I have signed with the Pope. You will demonstrate to them the advantages which they may derive from a political regeneration; order and peace internally, externally power and consideration. Such must be the spirit of your discourse and of your writings. Do not hurry the thing; I can wait at Bayonne, or can pass the Pyrenees. I will think of your private interests, do not trouble yourself about them. You proceed too rapidly in your instructions of the 14th. If war were to be kindled, all would be lost. It is for policy and negociations to decide the destinies of Spain.”

Before taking any fixed resolution, Napoleon wished for a closer view of the state of things, and to judge of the probabilities of success by personal observation. Leaving Paris on the 2nd of April, he arrived at Bordeaux on the 4th, and waited there for Josephine, who

rejoined him on the 10th. They marched together towards Bayonne, where they made their entry on the 15th. The Château de Marrac, destined to witness one of the greatest political events of the period, became for several months the Imperial residence.

The day after his arrival in Bayonne, the Emperor proceeded to reply to the Prince of the Asturias. Deferring his judgment on the merit and validity of the abdication of Charles IV. he gave to the son the title of "royal highness" only, blamed him for having availed himself of an insurrection to subvert his father's throne, and pointed out to him the political suicide which he would commit, and the shame with which he would be covered, if he allowed himself to be induced to dishonour his mother, by instituting a scandalous process against the favourite. The Emperor ended his letter by expressing in a few words his desire for an interview. An immediate study of the personages was necessary for him to form his determination. If the flight to Mexico had been realized, the question would have been rendered simpler, the position less embarrassing, the regeneration of Spain more easy. But the departure not having taken place, and the popular commotion remaining triumphant, there were two kings instead of one, whose fate it was necessary to determine. The side to espouse under the circumstances was puzzling, and Napoleon did not wish to decide hastily.

The Prince of the Asturias at first hesitated to yield to the wish of Napoleon. However, whilst some of his counsellors pointed out to him a snare in the proposed interview, others endeavoured to convince him of the importance of being before-hand with his father, and of rendering the first impressions, always so difficult to destroy, favourable towards himself. Ferdinand yielded to the latter advice; and quitting Madrid, to the great regret of the Spanish people, filled with uncertainty and anxiety, took the road towards the frontiers of France. Arrived at Vittoria, he there wished to wait for the Emperor; but the latter did not come, and the same considerations which had brought the young Prince to Alava, induced him to proceed to Bayonne. On the 20th of April, accompanied by his brother, Don Carlos, he presented himself at the Château de Marrac, where Napoleon was. Charles IV. soon followed the Prince of the Asturias. Not wishing to leave the field open to him at Bayonne, he hastened thither with the Queen and favourite, to place himself under the protection of the Emperor.

The Prince of the Asturias desired a conference with his father, in order to come to an understanding with him, and render useless the intervention of the powerful mediator whom they had chosen. With this intent, he one day attempted to follow Charles IV. into his apartment. but the old King repulsing him, said warmly: "Hold, Prince, have you not sufficiently outraged my grey hairs?" The next day he reproached him with his conduct in a letter in the bit-

terest terms, which did not escape Napoleon, and which thus ended, in allusion to the disturbance at Aranjuez: "Everything should be done for the people, and nothing by them. To forget this maxim, is to render oneself guilty of all the crimes which may arise from such forgetfulness."

However, Napoleon had learnt in a few days to know and appreciate the two personages whom he had come to study. At the first interview, Charles IV. and his son were judged, irrevocably judged. "When I beheld them at my feet," Napoleon has since said, "and could judge myself of all their incapacity, I took pity on the fate of a great nation; I seized the only opportunity which fortune presented me with, for regenerating Spain, separating her from England, and closely uniting her with our system. In my opinion, it was laying a fundamental basis for the repose and security of Europe. But far from employing ignoble and feeble means, as has been represented, if I have erred, it is, on the contrary, by an audacious frankness, by an excess of energy. Bayonne was not a mere trifle, but an immense, a splendid stroke of policy. I disdained tedious and common paths; I found myself powerful: I dared to strike from my elevation. I wished to resemble Providence, which remedies the ills of mortals by means of its will, somewhat violent, without disturbing itself with the opinions formed in consequence."

Everything concurred to render more prompt and firm the resolution of Napoleon. An insurrection had taken place in Madrid; which, though quelled by the severity of the measures adopted, left the capital of Spain in a state of effervescence, which from hour to hour extended to the provinces. It was no longer time to hesitate: the Bourbons could no longer reign over the Spanish people but at the good pleasure of the rebels, hostile to the French influence. On the 3rd of May, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of Napoleon; and, five days after, the Prince of the Asturias, and the Infants Don Carlos, Don Antonio, and Don Francisco, ratified this abdication, and renounced all pretensions to the throne of Spain. The old King withdrew to Compiègne, with the Queen and the inseparable Godoy; the Infants took up their abode at Vallençay.

This abandonment of the crown by Charles IV. and his sons, raised the irritation of the Spanish nation to the highest pitch. The insurrection became general. Juntas were formed in all parts to organize and direct the defence of the country against foreign invasion. A central Junta was afterwards established at Seville. The Spaniards, taken as a body, according to the expression of Napoleon himself, conducted themselves with spirit and patriotism.

This firm opposition had been foreseen by the Emperor: but once engaged, he could not recede; and besides, he still relied on the ascendant of his fortune and the power of his arms. He assembled a Junta, composed of men devoted to his interests, which he invested

with the government of Spain, and appointed his brother-in-law, Murat, president. This Junta was scarcely installed, than it demanded for King the brother of the Emperor, Joseph Bonaparte, who then occupied the throne of Naples.

Napoleon began by announcing to the Spaniards the events of Bayonne, in a proclamation wherein he explained the good he had proposed doing by accepting the solemn secession of the 5th of May. "After a long struggle," said he, "your nation will perish. I have observed your wants, and wish to remedy them. Your monarchy has become old: my mission is to restore its youth. I will ameliorate all your institutions, and, if you second me, will enable you to enjoy the benefits of a reform without enfeeblement, disorder, or convulsions.

"Spaniards, I have convoked a general assembly of the deputations from the provinces and cities; I wish to assure myself of your wants and desires. I will then lay down all my rights, and I will myself place your glorious crown on the head of another, guaranteeing you a constitution which shall connect the holy and salutary authority of sovereign with the liberties and privileges of the people. Be full of confidence and hope under the present circumstances; for I am anxious that the remotest of your posterity should preserve my memory, and say:—'He was the regenerator of our country.'"

This proclamation was published on the 25th of May at Bayonne. On the 6th of June following, an imperial decree, dated from the same town, called Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain and the Indies. This prince did not delay his arrival. Before repairing to Madrid, he passed some time with the Emperor, and even received at Bayonne the deputations which Murat had been commissioned to address to him, from all the provinces subjected to the French arms. It was in this city that, on the 6th of July, the general Junta, convoked by Napoleon, assembled. A constitution, based on that of the year VIII., was presented to this assembly, which immediately adopted it.

The spirit of resistance, meanwhile, spread throughout Spain. When it was generally understood that the kingdom had become a fief of the French empire, the whole nation rose as one man, and demanded vengeance on the treacherous invaders. Nobles, priests, and peasantry at once made common cause, and communications were opened from city to city, and in every town and village; while insurrectionary movements were organized throughout the Peninsula, embracing both Spain and Portugal, which last had been disgusted by the rapacity of Junot and his officers. The priests preached a crusade against the infidel French, who, notwithstanding the commands of Napoleon, had not scrupled to desecrate the churches and convents, and thus outrage the most sacred feelings of the people. The wealthy sent contributions; the clergy melted down their plate;

and the poor enrolled themselves to fight for national independence. Through the liberal assistance of England, arms were provided in abundance for these brave but undisciplined levies, who feared not to encounter the veteran soldiers of France.



The commencement of hostilities was disastrous to the patriots. On the 9th of June Le Febvre defeated the Arragonese, and during the month Bessieres obtained some advantages in several small engagements. General Cuesta, however, who commanded the Spanish levies of Castile and Leon, had contrived to effect a junction with the Galician army under General Blake, and, proceeding towards Burgos, determined to hazard a general engagement. Bessieres having received notice of the movements of the Spaniards, hastened to meet them ere they could complete their arrangements. On the 14th of July he came suddenly upon them near Medina del Rio Seco, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter—nearly twenty

thousand Spaniards being left on the field. Napoleon, when informed of this victory, exclaimed, "Bessieres has put the crown on Joseph's head. The resistance of the Peninsula has ended." It soon appeared, however, that this opinion was premature; for, in the course of a few days, news of French reverses began to pour into the capital. General Duhesme, underrating the skill and valour of his antagonists, advanced to assist in the reduction of Valencia and Arragon; but, having inconsiderately ventured into the mountain passes, and lost many of his men by the unerring bullets of the Catalonian riflemen, he was compelled to retreat, and eventually to shut himself up in Barcelona. Marshal Moncey, about the same time, conducted an expedition against Valencia; but, when he ventured to attack this city, the whole population rose *en masse*, and resisted with such desperation, that he was compelled to raise the siege, and retreat precipitately on the main body of the French army.

General Dupont was still more unfortunate in his operations. He had been sent forward into the southern provinces of Spain immediately after the entrance of Murat into Madrid. Having passed the defiles of the Sierra Morena, he crossed the Guadalquivir, and took possession of Cordova. On arriving here, however, he found that the citizens of Cadiz had declared for the national cause, and had taken possession of the French vessels; that he was surrounded on all sides by forces greatly superior to his own, and his retreat completely cut off; while his soldiers were reduced to the necessity of reaping the corn in the fields for a subsistence. Under these circumstances the French General thought it best to move forward, in order to bring about a general action. He accordingly advanced, and easily obtained possession of Baylen and La Carolina, and took the old Moorish town of Jaen by storm. Here, however, he was attacked by a superior force under General Castanos, and compelled to fall back on Baylen. The Spanish General pursued his success, and, after several desperate engagements, dislodged the French from Baylen also; when, having lost a great number of his men, Dupont had no resource but to surrender himself and the soldiers under his command as prisoners of war.

Napoleon was at Bordeaux when he heard of the convention of Baylen. His chagrin and indignation were extreme. "For an army to be beaten," he exclaimed, "is little. The chances of war are uncertain, and a defeat may be repaired; but the capitulation of an army is disgraceful. It is a stain on French military glory, and the wounds of honour admit of no cure. The moral effect too is terrible. Had there been no other means of preventing the troops from falling into the power of the enemy, they should have died with arms in their hands. Their death would then have been glorious, and their fall should have been avenged." Joseph Bonaparte did not receive intelligence of the surrender of Dupont until the 27th of July, when,

learning that Castanos was advancing on Madrid, receiving strong reinforcements on his march, he decided on quitting the capital, and retiring to Vittoria.

General Le Febvre, who since the middle of June had been engaged in the siege of Saragossa, fearful of being insulated, judged it expedient to abandon the enterprise. The siege and defence of this place are memorable for the undaunted bravery and heroism displayed. The town was defended chiefly by the citizens, who had placed themselves under the command of Don Jose Palafox, a young officer of considerable military skill and great gallantry. The French several times obtained possession of some parts of the town, but were so bravely received that they were never able to preserve what they had with so much loss acquired. The women vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in their patriotism and contempt of danger. Dupont's surrender became known in the beginning of August; and the French General, finding the struggle in which he was engaged hopeless for the present, set fire to the suburbs of the town and raised the siege.

Napoleon, meanwhile, pursued his journey towards Paris, unconscious of the extent of the reverses his troops had experienced, and careful not to let what he did know be communicated to the French people. At Toulouse, and other southern towns through which he passed, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; the streets were spanned with triumphal arches, and strewn with flowers and laurel branches. Amid these scenes of rejoicing, on the 14th of August—the eve of his birthday—he arrived at St. Cloud. On the following day magnificent fêtes were celebrated throughout the Empire, and Napoleon granted an audience to the Count de Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, who was the bearer of a number of valuable presents from the Emperor Alexander.

In the meantime, the course of events in the Peninsula was attentively watched by the British government. On the news of the seizure of Spain and Portugal, and the noble stand made against French aggression, it was resolved to render assistance to the invaded countries in their opposition to foreign domination. Supplies were accordingly voted by the House of Commons; and arms, ammunition, clothing, and money, were shipped for Spain. Early in June, an expedition of about ten thousand men, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, sailed from Cork for the Peninsula. Sir Arthur, on touching at Corunna, received intelligence of the surrender of Dupont, and this determined him to disembark in Portugal, where Oporto was already in arms to expel the invaders. On the 8th of August, the English force disembarked in Mondego Bay, and at once marched towards Lisbon, the English General being anxious to encounter Junot before Bessieres could arrive to his assistance. Sir Arthur had been reinforced by a corps of British soldiers, which

raised the force under his command to about sixteen thousand men, while the army of Junot amounted to about fourteen thousand. On the 17th an engagement took place at Rolica, in which the English were victorious, the division of Laborde being gallantly driven from a strong position, and forced to fall back on the main body. On the 21st the opposing armies met near Vimiero. The French were the assailants; but after a desperate contest, Junot, having lost two thousand men and thirteen cannon, was compelled to retreat in great disorder. Before Sir Arthur could take measures to pursue the flying enemy, he was superseded in the command by Sir Harry Burrard, who had just landed with reinforcements. This officer countermanded the orders of his predecessor, who had determined to advance on Torres Vedras, so as to intercept the retreat of Junot on Lisbon; and thus Vimiero, judged by its immediate results, became a mere battle of advanced posts. To add to the complication of matters, on the 22nd Sir Hugh Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard. This delay and indecision gave the French time to strengthen themselves in Torres Vedras; although Junot found he was in no condition successfully to prolong the contest, surrounded as he was by an hostile population, and a victorious army in front. He accordingly sent a flag of truce, for the purpose of arranging a convention, by which the French would evacuate Portugal. Negotiations ensued, which ended in the Convention of Cintra, by the stipulations of which the French were to be conveyed to their own country in British vessels, with their arms, artillery, and private property; and the English were to be put in possession of the enemy's magazines and stores, and a small auxiliary Russian fleet, then lying in the Tagus.

The successive defeats of Duhesme, Dupont, and Junot, did not shake the resolution of Napoleon, or turn him from his purpose. He had no doubt about his ultimate triumph, having at that time nearly half a million of men under arms. He therefore addressed himself to his veteran phalanxes, to the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Jena and of Friedland. At a grand review which he held at the Tuileries on the 11th of September, he announced to the soldiers of the Grand Army that he would shortly march with them into Spain, where the great nation had so many outrages to avenge. "Soldiers!" said he to them, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Vistula, you have traversed Germany by forced marches. I will now lead you across France without allowing you a moment of repose. Soldiers, I have need of you: the hideous presence of the leopard sullies the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. At your aspect, it will flee overwhelmed with consternation. Let us bear our triumphant eagles even to the columns of Hercules! there, also, have we outrages to avenge. Soldiers, you have surpassed the renown of modern armies; but you have equalled the glory of the armies of Rome, which, in the

same campaign, triumphed on the Rhine and on the Euphrates, in Illyria and on the Tagus. A long peace, a lasting prosperity will be the price of your labours. A true Frenchman cannot, ought not to take any repose until the seas are rendered free and open to all. Soldiers, all that which you have done, all that which you will yet do for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, will be eternally impressed upon my heart."

These words increased the enthusiasm of the soldiers of the army of the North, which was already at so high a pitch. They were anxious, after so many wars fomented by England, after so many triumphs obtained over her allies, to meet, at length, face to face, and to measure themselves with the soldiers of this queen of the seas, who



was held up to them in every proclamation as the eternal enemy of the continent. The first body formed of these magnificent and formidable battalions left Paris on the 23rd of September, under the command of Marshal Victor. After traversing the capital, they were received at the barriers by the prefect of the Seine and municipal body.

But before placing himself at the head of the troops which he had sent into Spain, Napoleon, still under the influence of the deceitful impressions which he had received at Tilsit, with respect to the Czar, wished to sanction by another interview the strict friendship which he had conceived for Alexander, and in which the latter appeared to participate. He felt the necessity of conferring with this prince, who was, after himself, the most powerful of the continental monarchs, on all the actual questions of European policy, and chiefly on the affairs of Spain. Erfurt was chosen for the seat of the interview. The two Emperors arrived there at the beginning of October. All the princes of the confederation of the Rhine had repaired thither, as if to form around their powerful protector a circle of crowned courtiers. Napoleon, in order to render the stay at Erfurt more agreeable to his illustrious friend, had ordered the players of the *Comédie Française* to accompany him. At one of the representations, Alexander affected to seize with transport, and applauded with vehemence, a line, of which every one easily made the application :

‘The friendship of a great man is a blessing from the gods.’

Eight days passed thus in fêtes ; but politics were not lost sight of. The banquets and spectacles were succeeded by the most important conversations. The Emperor of Russia appeared anxious to lead England to peace ; he even signed with Napoleon a pressing letter to this effect. The future, however, proved how little sincerity there was in his professions. He afterwards gave his entire approbation to the Spanish war, because he saw in it a very advantageous diversion for the North, in the war against the Revolution, and moreover an opportunity of enfeebling or ruining the two countries whose rivalry was most formidable to the Russian Empire, France and England. The two sovereigns separated on the 14th of October, very well satisfied with each other ; Napoleon sincerely believing himself the friend of Alexander, and little thinking that he would one day say of him :—“ He is a faithless Greek !”

The opening of the Legislative Body took place on the 25th. Believing the alliance of Russia secure, the Emperor spoke with confidence of his designs and hopes in regard to Spain. “ It is an especial blessing of that Providence which has constantly protected our arms,” said he, “ that passion has so blinded the English as to make them renounce the protection of the seas, and at length present an army on the continent. I depart in a few days to place myself at the head of my troops, and, with the aid of God, to crown the King of Spain in Madrid, and plant my eagles on the forts of Lisbon. The Emperor of Russia and myself have met at Erfurt ; we are of one mind, and henceforth united in peace and war.”

The Emperor departed from Paris on the 19th of October, and arrived, on the 3rd of November, at the castle of Marrac. On the 5th, his head-quarters were at Vittoria, and on the 9th at Burgos, after a

victory of Marshal Soult over the army of Estremadura. On the same day, Marshal Victor beat the army of Galicia at Espinosa de los Monteros. The plan of Napoleon was to isolate these two armies from each other, in order to destroy them separately. He had directed Victor against Blake, and Ney and Moncey against Castanos, who still commanded the army of Andalusia, whilst he placed himself in the centre of operations, with Soult, and a reserve of cavalry confided to Bessieres. This distribution of his forces had already fully succeeded. The army of Estremadura was dispersed, and that of Galicia destroyed. The fugitives from the battle of Espinosa, having endeavoured to reorganize themselves at Reynosa, were forced by the approach of Marshal Soult to abandon their ammunition and arms, and take refuge in disorder in the mountains of Leon.

The right of the French army was thus entirely disengaged; but on the left there were Palafox, who commanded in Arragon; and Castanos, the conqueror of Baylen. Whilst Soult overran and disarmed the province of Santander, the Emperor charged Marshal Lannes to hasten in pursuit of the armies of Arragon and Andalusia. Marshal Ney was detached towards Soria and Tarazon, in order to place himself between Castanos and Madrid, so as to cut off the road to the capital, in case of this chief meeting with a defeat, and to cause him to fall back again on Valencia.

The manœuvres of Lannes obliged the Spanish generals to retire between Tudela and Cascante. There, supported by the Elbro, and their forces amounting to at least forty-five thousand men, they



thought they might accept battle. But they had presumed too much on the advantages of their position, and on the number and courage of their soldiers. Marshal Lannes completely routed them, and avenged

on Castanos, himself, the French honour which had been compromised at Baylen. The battle of Tudela cost the Spaniards seven thousand men, thirty cannon, and seven flags. Palafox retired on Saragossa, and Castanos on Valencia.

On learning this fresh victory, Napoleon resolved to march immediately on Madrid, leaving Soult, on the right, to watch the movements of the western provinces, and Lannes on the left, to keep the remains of the army of Arragon in check. Ney continued to observe the army of Andalusia.

But Spanish patriotism had not yet wearied. Fresh levies in Estremadura and Castile had formed, and organized another army, which, being twenty thousand men strong, threw itself across the path of the Emperor, and attempted to close the defile of Somo-Sierra. The first of the French troops were, in fact, stayed for some moments, by the fire from the batteries which defended this narrow passage, which was very difficult of access. It required even the presence of Napoleon and the irresistible impetuosity of the cavalry of the Guard to overcome the vigorous resistance of the Spaniards. But on the appearance of the Emperor, at a signal given, the chasseurs and Polish lancers charged at full gallop, and every obstacle was soon removed. The French army passed over the prostrate enemy, sabred the gunners at their pieces, and presented themselves at the gates of Madrid, without meeting with any further trace of the Spanish army, which had determined to arrest its progress at Somo-Sierra. This brilliant feat of arms took place on the 29th of November, seven days after the battle of Tudela. On the 1st of December, the head-quarters of the Emperor were established at San-Augustino, in the vicinity of the metropolis, which capitulated on the 4th, the day after the capture of Segovia by Marshal Le Febvre.

Madrid had at first shown signs of standing on the defensive. Forty thousand armed peasants, and eight thousand regular troops, besides the militia, had shut themselves in the city with a hundred pieces of cannon. Barricades were rapidly thrown up; and everything augured so vigorous a resistance, that two messages from the Emperor had been received with contempt and fury. The firing then commenced, and was directed on a palace (Buen Retiro) which commanded the city. As soon as this important post had been carried by Marshal Victor, after several sanguinary efforts, the town was threatened with immediate destruction. This menace produced its effect. The Spanish army evacuated Madrid, the irregular troops disbanded, and the authorities signed a capitulation.

Napoleon signalized this conquest by a great action, which the irritation of the Spanish people prevented them from acknowledging, as they have since done. On the same day as the capitulation of Madrid, the Inquisition was abolished, and the number of convents considerably diminished.

Napoleon afterwards addressed a fresh proclamation to the Spaniards. "You have been misled by perfidious men," said he to them; "they have engaged you in a senseless struggle. In a few months you have been freed from the annoyance of popular factions. The defeat of your armies has cost me but a few marches. I have entered Madrid; the rights of war authorize me in making a great example, and in washing out with blood the outrages offered to myself and my nation. I have listened to clemency alone. I told you, in my proclamation of the 2nd of June, that I wished to become your regenerator. To the rights which were ceded to me by the princes of the last dynasty, you have wished that I should add those of conquest. This will not in the least alter my dispositions. I would even laud whatever there may be of generous in your efforts; I will acknowledge that your true interests have been concealed from you. Spaniards, your fate is in your own hands. Reject the poison which the English have shed amongst you. I have destroyed whatever was opposed to your prosperity and grandeur; I have broken the fetters which oppressed the nation; a liberal constitution offers you, instead of an absolute, a temperate monarchy. It depends on you to render this constitution your own. But if all my efforts are of no avail," he added, in conclusion, "and if you do not respond to my confidence, it will only remain for me to treat you in the light of conquered provinces, and to place my brother on another throne. I will then transfer the crown of Spain to my own head, and will teach all its opposers to respect it; for God has given me the strength and the will requisite to surmount every obstacle."

During his short stay in the capital of Spain, Napoleon occupied himself with inspecting the condition, and sustaining the courage of his troops. On the 9th of December, he passed in review the corps of Marshal Le Febvre, on the Prado; on the 10th, those of the confederation of the Rhine; and on the 11th, those of the cavalry, amongst whom figured the Polish lancers. The colonel of this fine body received from the hands of the Emperor, at this last review, the cross of commander of the Legion of Honour.

Whilst the Emperor occupied himself at Madrid with the organization of Spain, the military operations were continued in the Spanish provinces, where the insurrection was again rising from the ashes in all parts. The English, under Sir John Moore, had quitted Portugal to hasten to the succour of the capital of the Spanish monarchy; but the British General, despairing of arriving there in time, suddenly changed his plan, and conceived the project of bearing for Valladolid, in order to cut off the communications of the French army. This resolution was fatal to him. Assailed on one side, cut off on another, he saw himself constrained, at Palencia, to commence a disastrous retreat, closely pursued by Marshal Soult. The route lay through the mountainous province of Galicia, a tract of country but little

known to the best informed among the officers, where there was scarcely any trace of roads, and it was impossible to procure provisions. Their marches were long and hurried, the weather was dark and tempestuous, the ground covered with half-melted snow, and the fords impassable. Twice or thrice, when favourable positions offered, Moore halted, and gave orders to prepare for battle. Soult, however, knowing the spirit as well as the condition of his opponents, carefully avoided a doubtful conflict; and the English continued their disastrous



retreat to Corunna, where the transports, appointed to receive them, rode at anchor. On the 16th of January, 1809, while preparations were making for embarkation, Soult appeared on the heights above Corunna, and rendered a battle or a convention necessary to the

escape of the British. Moore chose the braver alternative. The French attacked in heavy columns about two o'clock in the afternoon, and seemed, for a time, to have the advantage; but through the gallantry of the men and officers, the tide was soon turned in favour of the British. The foe was repulsed at all points; and the embarkation, after the soldiers had destroyed their ammunition and guns, and shot their horses, was effected without further molestation. The gallant commander of the victorious army fell on the field of his triumph. Soult had also dispersed, during this pursuit, the Spanish corps of La Romana, which had taken refuge in the mountains of the Asturias.

The Emperor had himself set out to meet the English, as soon as he was informed of their movement on Madrid. It was under his orders, and in his presence, that operations had commenced in Galicia. Early in January, his head-quarters were successively held at Astorga and at Benevento. During this expedition, it had also been established in the outer buildings of the convent of St. Claire, where Jane, the mother of Charles V., died. This convent had been constructed on the site of an ancient palace of the Moors, of which a bath and two halls remain in very good preservation. The abbess, who was sixty-five years of age, was presented to the Emperor, who received her with great distinction, and granted her divers requests.

In Catalonia, the successes of the French arms had not been less striking. Gouvion St. Cyr had penetrated into Barcelona, after having taken possession of Roses; and the Marquis of Vives, beaten at Cardade, had fallen into disgrace with the Junta. Thus, since the arrival of the Emperor in Spain, victory had everywhere returned to the banners of France.

The last public act of Napoleon in Spain was to declare his brother Joseph Generalissimo of the French forces in the Peninsula. He then set off on horseback towards Paris, with such extraordinary haste, that he is said to have performed the journey to Burgos, a distance of seventy-five English miles, in five hours and a half. The cause of this excessive rapidity begat many surmises; but ere long the true reason transpired. He arrived in Paris on the 23rd of January, 1809.





CHAPTER XXIII.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—AUSTRIA DECLARES AGAINST FRANCE.—RATISBON TAKEN.—CAPTURE OF VIENNA.—ESSLING.—DEATH OF LANNES.—ARMY OF ITALY —WAGRAM.—ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN.—TREATY OF SCHONBRUNN.—TROUBLES WITH THE POPE. 1809.



FTER his return from Bayonne, in August 1808, Napoleon had been informed that Austria, whose attitude had been very equivocal during the campaign of Prussia, exhibited signs of ill feeling and evil intentions towards France. He frankly mentioned the case to the ambassador of this power, M. de Metternich, who had come to St. Cloud with the diplomatic body, in order to felicitate his Imperial

Majesty on the occasion of his festival. The ambassador assured him of the pacific dispositions of his court, and that the armaments complained of by the French government had none but a defensive aim in view. Napoleon bade him remark how unreasonable this explanation was, since there was no subject for inquietude, no symptom of attack the most distant, which could affect Austria. "However," he added, "your Emperor does not wish for war. I believe it; I will rely on his word, which he pledged to me at our interview. He can have no resentment against me. I have occupied his capital, the greater part of his provinces: almost everything has been restored to him. Do you imagine that the conqueror of the French armies, who would have been master of Paris, would have acted with the like moderation? Private intrigues force you into measures which you do not approve of. The English and their partisans dictate all these false measures; already they congratulate themselves with the hope of again seeing Europe on fire." M. de Metternich persisted in denying the hostile views of his government.

Later, and at the commencement of the month of March, 1809, when Napoleon had returned to Madrid, and he knew that a rupture with the court of Vienna was imminent, the Austrian ambassador ventured to hold the same language to the French minister, M. de Champagny. "If the Emperor," said he, "really felt any uneasiness about that which he calls our armaments, why, instead of holding his tongue, and calling on the troops of the Confederation, did he not speak to me? it would have been explained and probably understood."—"Of what use would that have been?" replied the French minister. "Of what use are these artifices, which have been pursued for the last five months? The Emperor, sir, speaks to you no longer, because he then spoke to you in vain, because you have forfeited with him, by deceitful promises, the credit which is awarded to the title of ambassador. For the rest, the Emperor, who asks of you nothing but to let him enjoy the security of peace, does not wish for war. He will engage in it, if you compel him; although he has not given you the least pretext for it. I know not what your measures will impel you to; but if the war takes place, it will be because you have wished it." M. de Metternich withdrew in confusion, complaining of having been ill-used at court; and M. de Champagny replied that it was the court of Vienna which, not executing the promises made by its ambassador, had alone wounded the dignity of his character. The minister communicated to the Senate, at the setting of the 14th of April, the two conversations which the Emperor and himself had had with the Austrian ambassador. He made them acquainted with the hostile preparation of the court of Vienna, and after his report, a Counsellor of State presented a plan of the *Sénatus-consulte*, which placed forty thousand conscripts at the disposal of the Minister of War. This plan was adopted.

Francis II. had been in active communication with the British Cabinet; and when the French Senate voted levies of conscripts, and gave its approbation to the preparations for war, hostilities immediately commenced. Austria published her manifesto, and invaded the states of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 12th of April, the Emperor, informed by the telegraph of the passage of the Inn by the enemy, immediately left Paris; on the 16th of April, he arrived at Dillingen, and there promised the King of Bavaria to restore him in a fortnight to his capital, whence Prince Charles had driven him. On the 17th, he was at Donawert, and addressed the following proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers, the territory of the confederation has been violated. The Austrian general expects us to fly at the sight of his army, and to abandon our allies to him. I arrive with the rapidity of lightning. Soldiers, I was surrounded by you when the sovereign of Austria came to my camp in Moravia. You have heard him implore my clemency, and swear an eternal friendship

towards me. We were victorious in three wars, and Austria owed everything to our generosity. Three times has she perjured herself. Our past successes are a safe guarantee of the victory which awaits us. Let us then march, and at our aspect may the enemy acknowledge his conqueror."

Napoleon, after having read the first reports made to him of the manœuvres of the enemy's army, had sent orders to put his army in motion against them. General Oudinot arrived at Pfaffenhoffen, where he met three or four thousand Austrians, whom he attacked, and took three hundred prisoners. The Duke of Rivoli arrived next day at Pfaffenhoffen. The same day the Duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingoldstadt. It was evident then that Napoleon's plan was to out-manœuvre the enemy, who had passed through Landshut. The combat of Tann took place on the 19th. The division of St. Hilaire, with part of the Duke of Auerstadt's left, arrived at the village of Peissing, where Napoleon gained a battle most glorious to the French arms.

During these proceedings the Archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial success at Ratisbon. Two battalions of the 65th infantry of the line, left to guard the bridge of Ratisbon, having expended



their cartridges, and being surrounded by the Austrians, were obliged to surrender. This event made an impression upon the Emperor, and he swore that in twenty-four hours Austrian blood should flow

in Ratisbon, to avenge the insult that had been offered to his arms. There was no time to be lost; the Emperor began his march from Landshut with several divisions under him.

On the 23rd, at day-break, the French army advanced upon Ratisbon, and soon came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, which attempted to cover the city. Three successive charges took place, all to the advantage of the French. The Emperor, while directing the attack, was wounded by a bullet in the right foot. The report was immediately spread throughout the army, and the soldiers, filled with consternation, hastened to the spot. The wound, however, was slight, and Napoleon, having had it dressed, remounted his horse, and presented himself to his troops, by whom he was received with the loudest acclamations. Eight thousand Austrians having been cut to pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. Having no time to destroy the bridge, the French passed over with them to the left bank. This unfortunate city, which the Austrians so rashly attempted to defend, was on fire during the night, and suffered considerably. The corps of General Bellegarde arrived the day after the battle, and then retired into Bohemia.

On the 3rd of May the advanced guard of the French under Massena, arrived at Lintz; the remains of the two corps of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller had marched the same way. He there found them collected to the number of thirty thousand men, in an advantageous position in advance of the Traun: however, fearing to be turned by his left, the Austrian general marched towards Ebersberg, in order to pass the river there. On the same day the Emperor's head-quarters were at Lambach; he had ordered General Oudinot and Marshal Bessieres to advance in the direction of Ebersberg, to support the movement of the Duke of Rivoli. General Claparede's division, which marched at the head of Oudinot's corps, overtook the rear of the Austrian division near Ebersberg. The enemy was boldly attacked the moment he was advancing towards the bridge to gain the right bank of the Traun, under the protection of numerous batteries. This bridge was prolonged by a number of little islets. The French voltigeurs and tirailleurs were several times arrested by the violence of the enemy's fire, till General Claparede advanced with the rest of his division; then cannon, caissons, carriages, men and horses, were overthrown in the Traun; but the fire having caught some houses near the bridge, the first arches of it were burnt, so that the French troops that had already passed the river were separated from the rest, and had to contend against the thirty thousand Austrians that General Hiller had formed on the heights behind the town. General Claparede's division, scarcely seven thousand strong, had to sustain this unequal contest a long time; but they acquitted themselves with a resolution and intrepidity worthy of the highest eulogy. Still this handful of brave men must have fallen

a sacrifice to their valour, if the other divisions had not come to their assistance, after extinguishing the fire at the foot of the bridge. The Austrians left four pieces of cannon, two standards, and a heap of dead in Ebersberg, the ruins of which continued smoking eight days after the battle. The houses, the streets, the sides of the river were encumbered with bodies half burnt. This day cost the Austrians four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and from six to seven thousand prisoners. General Claparede's division had more than three hundred killed, and more than seven hundred badly wounded. A company of Corsican voltigeurs, in pursuing the enemy, made seven hundred prisoners, who had taken refuge in a wood. On the 10th of May, at nine in the morning, Napoleon appeared at the gates of Vienna, with the corps of the Duke of Montebello. This was exactly a month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn to invade Bavaria.

Reduced to the necessity of bombarding the place, Napoleon, accompanied by the Duke of Rivoli, arrived upon the arm of the Danube that separates the promenade called the Prater from the fauxbourgs, and caused a little pavilion on the left to be occupied by two companies of voltigeurs, whilst a bridge was constructed, and finally completed without any interruption. The French army then formed a circle about the ramparts; their left supported by the Danube near Dobling, the right at Simmering, and the centre in the environs of Schonbrunn.

General Bertrand, of the engineers, erected a battery of twenty howitzers upon the spot where the Turks in 1683 first opened their trenches. This battery, covered by the Emperor's stables, began to bombard the place about nine o'clock, but it could not silence the fire of the ramparts. Several hotels and large buildings in the city became the prey of the flames, and spread the greatest consternation among an immense population, shut up as it were in a narrow space. In the interim a flag of truce was sent out, to announce that the young Archduchess Marie Louise, ill of the small pox, not being able to accompany her father and mother, was then in the Imperial palace, exposed to the fire of the French artillery. Out of respect to this princess, Napoleon changed the direction of the batteries in such a manner, that the palace was preserved. At one in the morning the Archduke marched out with two battalions, to attack the pavilion which had protected the building of the bridge by which the Emperor entered the Prater. The two companies of voltigeurs posted here received the Austrians within musket shot, and their fire, and that of a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon on the other side, forced the Austrians to retire in great disorder. The Archduke finding his communications thus threatened, ordered the troops of the line to evacuate the city. Napoleon did not enter Vienna, but the imperial guard was cantoned about Schonbrunn, and the troops under

the Dukes of Rivoli, Montebello, and Istria in the environs of that city.

On the 21st of May, the whole Austrian army was under arms, and drawn up in two lines between the mount Bisemberg and the Russbach, a brook. The troops under General Hiller, forming the right wing, were near Stammersdorf; the corps of Generals Bellegarde and Hohenzollern formed the centre, and that of General Rosenberg the left. All the cavalry, under Prince John de Lichtenstein, had orders to fall back, and form behind the centre, between the corps of General Hiller and the Prince of Rosenberg. The whole of the plain of Markfeld extended in the front of this line.

At four in the afternoon the Archduke, having learnt by his outposts that a part of the French army was in position, no longer hesitated to advance. Having formed his troops in five columns, his object was to enclose the French in a narrow circle, then by attacking them with vigour, force them to recross the Danube, and to destroy the bridges. The Austrian army then presented a total of ninety thousand men, with two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon of various calibre. To resist this force Napoleon had not more than forty thousand men with him, and the greatest part of the artillery was in the island of Lobau.

The enemy's columns now began to debouch in the plain, and the action soon commenced with a vigorous attack by the Archduke upon the left wing of the French at Gros Aspern. Marshal Massena had disposed his troops in large sections in the front of this village; their front was covered by two battalions that lined the hedges; his right by a battery, and his left by a long deep ditch that extended to the Danube, and a little island, in which some platoons were posted. The defence was equally as spirited as the attack; three times the Austrians, much superior in number, endeavoured to carry the village of Aspern, and three times they were repulsed, fighting with the greatest fury in every street, house, and barn. Night at length put an end to the combat.

On the 22nd, at day-break, the Archduke Charles made his dispositions for renewing the battle, which began at four in the morning. From every point of the circumference of the enemy's line they directed a flanking fire upon the French centre, which the artillery of the latter returned with much vigour: the Austrian columns advancing, those of Generals Hiller and Bellegarde attacked the village of Aspern, still occupied by the Marshal Duke of Rivoli, with an additional division. One of the enemy's regiments lodged themselves in some of the first houses of the village, but they were soon driven out by the bayonet; other regiments returned to the charge, and penetrated as far as the church, which they seized, but it was soon retaken, and remained in the hands of the French. Whilst this was passing on the left of the French line, the Austrians attacked the

village of Essling with equal vigour ; but this was obstinately defended by Boudet's division.

Napoleon had conceived the idea of separating the Austrian army by penetrating through its centre, and charged the Duke of Montebello with this operation. This marshal put himself at the head of St. Hilaire's division, having upon his left the troops of General Oudinot, and Boudet's division on his right ; the cavalry, formed in a mass, was placed in the intervals, and behind the infantry, to sustain the efforts of the whole, as occasion might require. This line advanced in the best order : its front strengthened by a numerous artillery under General Laribossiere, which returned the fire of the enemy, and caused great ravages in his ranks. The Archduke, seeing the danger that threatened him, reinforced his centre, and repaired thither himself. The enemy's efforts to resist the French columns were in vain ; they continued to advance, and the Austrian line was soon obliged to retreat, though in very good order. The French cavalry charged that of Prince Lichtenstein with great valour. It was seven in the morning : the French cavalry had reached the little village of Breitenlee, the Archduke's head-quarters. Only a few more efforts were now wanting to complete the triumph of fifty thousand Frenchmen over ninety thousand of their enemies, when suddenly the Emperor received information that the bridges thrown over the Danube had been carried away by boats loaded with stones launched from the islands above that of Lobau. It now appeared impossible that the rest of the army, composed of more than forty thousand men, eighty pieces of artillery, &c., could pass into the isle of Lobau, or over the left shore of the Danube. Such intelligence as this would have disconcerted any other chief than Napoleon : he, without showing any alteration in his countenance, sent orders to Marshal Lannes to slacken his pursuit, and to return slowly into a position between Aspern and Essling.

Seeing the French in full retreat, the Archduke now assumed the offensive, and advanced with his whole line. Aspern and Essling were three times attacked with the utmost fury, but without effect, until it became necessary to abandon those positions, in order to rejoin the main army. Massena exerted himself heroically, surpassing all his former achievements. General Mouton also displayed great gallantry at the head of the fusileers of the Guard, and their bravery was imitated by every officer and soldier in the army. Never was French valour, or discipline, more severely tested than in the combat of Essling. The keeping of the field had been entrusted to Marshal Lannes, whose skill and courage powerfully contributed to the safety of the army. This, however, was the last service the illustrious warrior was destined to render to his sovereign and country. Towards the close of the day he was struck by a cannon-ball, which shattered both his legs. Amputation was immediately performed, and some

hopes were entertained of his recovery. The Marshal himself, however, seemed conscious that death was approaching, and called loudly for the Emperor, who, when he came, could not restrain his tears at



the sight. Lannes was irritated to a degree of frenzy at the thought of dying before the campaign was finished, and raved against the surgeons for their inability to cure a marshal. When Napoleon was present he became calm. "He would hear," said the Emperor at St. Helena, "of none but me. Undoubtedly he loved his wife and children better; yet he spoke not of them. He was their protector, I his. I was to him something vague and undefined, a superior being, the providence whom he implored. He was a man on whom I could implicitly rely. Sometimes, from the impetuosity of his disposition, he suffered a hasty expression against me to escape him, but he would have blown out the brains of any person who had ventured to repeat it. Originally his physical courage predominated over his judgment, but the latter was every day improving; and at the period of his death he had reached the highest point of his profession, and was a most able commander. I found him a dwarf; but I lost him a giant. Had he lived to witness our reverses, it would have been impossible for him to have swerved from the path of duty and honour; and he was capable by his own weight and influence of changing the aspect of affairs." Lannes was conveyed to Vienna, where he expired on the 31st of May. The battle of Essling was also

fatal to General St. Hilaire, one of Napoleon's bravest and most experienced officers.

The slaughter in this desperate contest was very great. Nearly twenty thousand men fell on the side of the French, and a considerably larger number on the side of the Austrians. The victory was claimed by both Prince Charles and Napoleon; but in reality it was nothing more than a check to the latter. The Archduke, however, neglected to improve his advantage. Instead of endeavouring to crush his baffled antagonist, he contented himself with strengthening the positions of Aspern and Essling, and erecting fortifications to oppose any future attempt at passing the river. Napoleon, meanwhile, was cooped up in the islands of the Danube, completely separated from Davoust and his reserve. His fertile genius, however, soon enabled him to surmount all difficulties. He collected materials for repairing the bridges, and succeeded in re-establishing his communications with Davoust; while Lobau, in an incredibly short space of time, was converted into an entrenched camp.

While these events were passing, the Archduke John, having entered Italy by the passes of Carinthia, had taken Eugene, the Viceroy, unprepared. The Austrians had, therefore, obtained possession of Padua and Vicenza, and compelled the French to retire to Caldiero, on the Adige. Being reinforced, Eugene assumed the offensive, and signally defeated the Archduke at St. Michel. Prince John retreated with his shattered army, and reached the Hungarian territory, intending to unite his forces with those of his brother Charles. Eugene, however, pursued him closely, and overtook him at Raab: there, having been joined by Marmont, on the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, he obtained a new and splendid victory, entirely routing the enemy. After this success, the Viceroy and Marmont, ascending the Danube, united their troops with those of Napoleon.

The Emperor now determined to resume the offensive, before the large reinforcements, which he knew were on their march, should arrive to the support of Prince Charles. Accordingly, on the 4th of July, the chain of bridges being completed, the French army, at ten o'clock at night, once more commenced the passage to the left bank of the river. The Archduke obtained vague intelligence of the movement, and directed a strict watch to be kept on the isle of Lobau; but he little suspected that the whole French army were about to cross; nor was he aware, until the following morning, that any other means of passing existed except the single bridge against which he had established his batteries. At daylight, therefore, he was unpleasantly surprised to find his opponents in full force on his flank and rear, having turned all his fortifications, and thus rendered them entirely useless. Preparations were then made for battle. The ground covered by the two armies, was about two leagues in extent.

The troops nearest the Danube were but twelve hundred fathoms from the city of Vienna, so that the towers, the steeples, and the tops of the highest houses, were covered by the numerous population, thus become spectators of the terrible contest that was preparing.

At sun rise on the 6th the cannonade commenced upon the two lines. At five o'clock the left of the Austrian army, under Rosenberg, debouched from Markgrafen Neusiedel, whilst the right, composed of the corps of Generals Bellegarde, Kollowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hillier, advanced upon Stadlau; Prince Hohenlohe's corps alone forming the centre, remained in its position at Wagram. The Emperor, perceiving that the Prince of Rosenberg was moving against Marshal Davoust, repaired in person to the right wing, which he reinforced with the cuirassiers under General Arrighe, and caused twelve pieces of light artillery to advance upon the flank of the enemy's columns. After an obstinate engagement of two hours' duration, Davoust succeeded in repulsing his adversary as far as Neusiedel, with considerable loss.

Whilst the French army thus signalized itself by its successes in the beginning of the day, the battle was carried on all along the rest of the line. In carrying his grand masses to the right, it was the intention of the Archduke to force the French left, and cut off the army from its bridges upon the Danube. Thus at the moment when a part of his columns were warmly engaged with the Prince of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena, he put himself at the head of thirty-five thousand of his best troops, in the space between the main body of Massena's troops, and the division he had left at Gros Aspern. This mass easily overthrew the feeble posts which occurred in its progress, and soon threatened the flanks of the French army. The columns also that attacked the left front, made great progress: Gros Aspern was carried; the Prince of Ponte Corvo's corps, consisting of Saxons and Bavarians, was overthrown and routed. The left wing of the French, thus forced, formed in a square, with one side facing the Danube. The Archduke pursuing his success, outflanked the French by more than half a league. He even pushed parties almost up to the bridges. A panic was spread in the rear of the French army; and to the number of non-combatants the battle seemed lost: they fled with all imaginable speed towards Lobau, carrying with them the most alarming rumours. It was about nine in the morning when several officers of the staff came to inform Napoleon that the enemy had made a furious attack upon Marshal Massena and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and that the left wing was already outflanked to the extent of nearly three thousand toises; that the enemy deployed numerous troops, and a formidable artillery, in the space that separated Gros Aspern from Wagram. After having ordered Marshal Davoust to turn the position of Neusiedel, and then to proceed to Wagram, Napoleon hastened to the left, to inquire into the real

state of affairs. The movement prescribed to the Prince of Eckmühl was happily executed. Whilst the two divisions of Gudin and Pacthod attacked the village on the right, General Morand moved on the left of the enemy, whom he turned and attacked all at once. He was supported by General Friant. The superiority of the enemy's forces at first compelled Morand's division to give ground; but Friant's having advanced with a charging pace, the Austrians were driven back to their intrenchments, which were soon forced, and in a few moments the heights between Wagram and Neusiedel were crowded by the victors. At the same moment Neusiedel was carried by the divisions of Gudin and Pacthod. The enemy's left, entirely overthrown, was forced upon the centre, and pursued by the four divisions under Davoust.

When the Emperor perceived his light troops upon the heights of Wagram, he ordered Marshal Massena to make good his positions,



and asserted that the battle was gained; at the same time he ordered a decisive attack upon the enemy's centre by the three divisions of Seras, Broussier, and Lamarque, under Marshal Macdonald, to be supported by the corps under Generals Marmont and Oudinot. Marshal Bessieres had also been ordered to move with the cavalry of the guard, and that of the reserve, and to make a charge upon the flanks of the formidable columns under the Archduke Charles, whilst General Lauriston, at the head of a battery of a hundred pieces of cannon, advanced upon a trot, without firing, till they came within

half shot of the enemy's columns. The enemy presented nine grand masses of infantry and cavalry, protected by artillery. The Austrian cavalry was the first to charge the French; but these, formed in squares, repulsed the shock with vigour. The enemy, to avoid being turned by the troops under the Prince of Eckmuhl, abandoned the heights of Baumersdorf; these were occupied by General Pacthod.

During this time, the hundred pieces of cannon under General Lauriston, had made great ravages in the enemy's right, and reduced his artillery to silence. The left wing of the Austrians, hotly pursued, hastily retired to Wagram, where they hoped they should be able to rally; but the united attacks of the divisions of the Prince of Eckmuhl and General Oudinot gave them no time to form again. Wagram was carried by the bayonet, by General Pacthod's division, whilst the corps under the Prince of Eckmuhl and Oudinot drove the enemy from the positions on the right and above Wagram, making a great number of prisoners. The village of Sussenbrunn was next carried, though strongly protected. Gerasdorf was attacked and defended with equal resolution; the conflict remained undecided upwards of an hour. When the enemy was driven out, they were pursued by the Polish light horse and the chasseurs of the guard. Their endeavours to disperse the mass of the Austrian infantry were fruitless. They charged the enemy's squares three times, and were as many times thrown back upon the French infantry: the Austrians retired, but in a manner worthy of the admiration of the brave troops who had compelled them to make this movement.

After the village of Gerasdorf had been carried, the enemy's centre no longer thought of anything but a retreat. His left wing had already given ground before the corps of the Prince of Eckmuhl and General Marmont, and their right, after having for a long time maintained itself against the united attacks of Marshal Massena and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, no longer supported by the centre, had retired in the direction of Jedlersdorf and Strebersdorf; and thus the battle was completely gained.

In the night between the 6th and 7th, the Austrian army retired upon Kornenburg and Wolkersdorf, where the Emperor Francis had staid during the battle. From hence he hastened to Moravia, abandoning, as the trophies of his defeat, ten standards, forty pieces of cannon, nearly eighteen thousand prisoners, nine thousand wounded, and a great quantity of equipage. The loss of the French, much less than that of the enemy, was six thousand wounded, and two thousand six hundred killed. Marshal Bessieres was among the former. The French army had to lament the loss of the valiant Lasalle, one of the first generals of light cavalry. Colonel Oudet, made a general on the eve of the battle, was wounded in an ambuscade, and survived only three days; twenty-two officers of his regiment fell at the same time.

The soldiers, of all arms, had rivalled each other in intrepidity and glory on this memorable day. Napoleon himself had been several times exposed in the midst of the most terrible fire. Ever since morning he had been running through the different lines, encouraging the troops by his presence and persuasive eloquence. Many were killed by the balls and bullets that flew about him. It was observed, that the enemy's fire was particularly directed against the groups that environed the Emperor. In consequence of this, Napoleon was obliged to change his surtout three times. The aides-de-camp and the officers of the staff were also given to understand that they should keep themselves more at a distance; and the regiments were instructed not to salute the Emperor with their acclamations at the moment he was passing.

On the 11th, at noon, Napoleon arrived before Znaim, at the moment the Prince of Essling had seized upon the bridge of this city, which the Duke of Ragusa had turned. General Bruyeres had been wounded, and General Guiton had made a fine charge with the tenth regiment of cuirassiers, when Prince John of Lichtenstein presented himself before the French posts to treat for an armistice. The Emperor received this envoy, who had been sent on a similar mission in 1805, and immediately ordered the firing to cease. The proposed armistice was concluded in the night between the 11th and 12th; and the principal articles stipulated, that the citadels or forts of Brunn and Gratz should be evacuated directly by the Austrian troops; that they should abandon the Tyrol and the Voralberg, and give up the fort of Saksenburg to the French. The armistice of Znaim, intended to last only a month, was prolonged till the month of October; but owing to difficulties that occurred, the treaty was not signed till the following month.

Peace was at length concluded at Vienna on the 14th of October, 1809. The Emperor of Austria was subjected to fresh territorial concessions in favour of France, Saxony, etc. The Czar, whose prayers had probably been for the enemies of France during the war—the Czar himself had his share of the spoil of his secret allies. Napoleon, who still believed in the sincerity of the demonstrations at Erfurt, gave to Alexander the most eastern part of ancient Galicia, comprising a population of four hundred thousand souls.

While Napoleon was at Schonbrunn, a young German fanatic attempted to assassinate him. Being detected at the moment when he was about putting his project in execution, the criminal remained calm and immovable, evincing no repentance, and only expressing his regret that he had not killed the Emperor. Napoleon requested that he should be brought into his presence, and interrogated him on his country, his family, his connections and his habits. He declared his name to be Stapps of Erfurt, and that he was the son of a Lutheran minister. The Emperor asked him wherefore, having seen him at

Erfurt, he had not then sought to kill him. "You let my country breathe," he replied, "I thought the peace assured." This young man, therefore, had only wished to strike, in Napoleon, the author of the war, the indefatigable conqueror, the disturber of the repose of Europe. It is said that the Emperor intended to pardon Stapps, whose frankness and courage had struck him. But his orders arrived too late. The young German met his death with the greatest coolness, exclaiming: "Hail, Liberty! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!"

Napoleon departed from Schonbrunn on the 27th of October. On that day he rose at five in the morning, and sending for General Rapp, they walked out to the great road, to see the Imperial guard pass along on its way to France. Three days after his arrival at Paris, the peace was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies.

The year 1809 was distinguished by the unsuccessful expedition of Lord Chatham to the island of Walcheren. The land forces amounted to thirty-five thousand men. The naval force, under Admiral Strachan, consisted of twenty ships of the line, a hundred and twenty other vessels, and between four or five hundred transports. Fortunately for Napoleon, this armament, which had been preparing ever since May, was not ready till the end of July, when the result of the battle of Wagram was known to the British cabinet. This event had the effect of checking any attempt at co-operation on the part of the Dutch or Belgians with the enemies of France. The French were by no means prepared for a visit in this quarter, though Napoleon had some intimation of it whilst he was near Vienna; however, the disease that made such dreadful ravages in the English camp, called the Walcheren, or *marsh fever*, obliged the commandant to give orders for the complete evacuation of the island, and the destruction of the works at Flushing; and the 14th of September was the day appointed for the departure of the Earl of Chatham, and the greatest part of the troops forming the expedition.

During the negotiations for peace with Austria, a misunderstanding, which had for some time existed between Napoleon and the Pope, came to an open rupture. Pius VII. had never forgiven the slight he had received after the Coronation, and lost no opportunity of displaying his sympathy with the enemies of France. This greatly exasperated the Emperor, who at length, after a tedious correspondence on the various subjects under dispute, demanded that the Holy Father should adopt the Continental system, expel all foreigners inimical to France, and form a strict alliance offensive and defensive with the Imperial Court; intimating, at the same time, that if these demands were not complied with, he would be punished by the seizure of the papal territories between the Appenines and the Adriatic. The Pope replied by menacing the Emperor with the thunders of the Vatican. The age, however, when anathemas were dreaded had passed away;

and Napoleon retorted by issuing a decree for the immediate occupation of the marches of Ancona. He then announced that unless within two months Pius should signify his adherence to the federative treaty of the Italian states, the patrimony of St. Peter would be incorporated with the Empire. The Pope, however, continued inflexible, and sent orders to his minister at Paris to demand his passports, and quit France without taking leave. This step decided the Emperor. On the 2nd of February, 1808, a corps of six thousand men, under the orders of General Miollis, entered Rome—with instructions, however, to show the greatest respect to the Pontiff and his ministers, and not to interfere in any way with the civil government of the city.

The inflexibility of the Pope was, however, not overcome by the invasion of his States. According to the threat which he had made, Pius VII. launched a bull of excommunication against the Emperor, when he perceived that the latter was no less immovable than himself in his resolutions, and that the military occupation of Rome would be indefinitely prolonged.

Napoleon was at Vienna, decked with the laurels of Eckmühl and Ratisbon, when he learnt the publication of this bull. He immediately resolved again to demand of the Pope the reunion of the Pontifical domain with the French empire, and, in case of refusal, to carry off



his Holiness. General Radet was charged with this unpleasant mission. He presented himself for this purpose at the Quirinal palace, on the night of the 5th of July, 1809, and instantly pressed Pius VII. to consent to the cession of his temporal domain, in order to avoid the

rigorous measures to which a vain resistance would expose him. "I cannot," replied the pontiff, "I must not; I will not. I have promised before God to preserve for the holy church all its possessions, and I will never fail in the oath which I have made to maintain it." The General replied: "Holy Father, I am greatly afflicted that your Holiness will not consent to this demand, since, by refusing it, you only expose yourself to fresh tribulation." He then, in respectful language, made known his instructions, and demanded that his Holiness should accompany him. The Holy Father meekly replied "This then is the gratitude reserved for me for all I have done for your Emperor! This then is the reward for my great condescension towards him and the Gallican church! But perhaps I am guilty with regard to this in the sight of God; he wishes to punish me for it, and I submit with humility." Cardinal Pacca then demanded that the Holy Father should be allowed to take with him the persons he should name; but the General replied to his eminence, that according to the orders of the Emperor, he alone could accompany the Pope. "And what time are we to be allowed to prepare for our journey?" asked the Cardinal. "Half an hour," said the General. The Pontiff then rose, and only gave utterance to these words: "Then God's will be done towards me!" A carriage was waiting at one of the palace gates. Pius VII. got into it with Cardinal Pacca, and General Radet rode in front. At the gate del Popolo, another carriage was prepared for the august travellers. The French officer wished to profit by this change to renew his entreaties with the Pope. "It is still time," said he, "for your Holiness to renounce the States of the church."—"No," drily repeated the Pontiff, and the man immediately closed the door. In a few minutes he was away from Rome, and on the road to Florence.

"The unfortunate Pontiff," says M. de Bourrienne, "was passed from city to city; for then it was; who should *not* receive the illustrious prisoner. From Florence, Eliza sent him forward to Turin; from Turin, the Prince Borghese expedited him into the interior of France; and, finally, Napoleon sent him back to reside in Savona, under keeping of his brother-in-law; thus ingeniously recalling to Prince Borghese, that he owed his rank, before an Imperial alliance, to Paul V. In these pleasure excursions, his Holiness's guard of honour was a squad of gens-d'armes. But in all the varied phases of this troublesome transaction, and blameable as it certainly was, the Pope could not easily persuade men that Heaven took pleasure in avenging promptly the cause of the chief of holy mother church, since the very morning which followed his abduction from the chair of St. Peter, lighted up the day of Wagram."





CHAPTER XXIV.

DIVORCE OF JOSEPHINE.—MARRIAGE WITH THE AUSTRIAN ARCH-DUCHESS, MARIA LOUISA.—BERNADOTTE ELECTED CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.—LOUIS BONAPARTE RESIGNS THE CROWN OF HOLLAND.—ATTEMPT OF LA SALLE TO ASSASSINATE THE EMPEROR.—BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROME. 1809—1811.



AFTER his return from Germany, Napoleon remained for some time at Fontainebleau, whence he had issued many decrees relative to the administration of the empire. Returning to his capital, he was followed by the kings of his creation, who hastened to Paris in order to felicitate him on his new triumphs, and on the conclusion of peace. Milan, Florence, and Rome sent deputations for the same purpose; the Greek synod of Dalmatia also sent to him, and their deputy was received by the Emperor, on the 20th of November, 1809, at a solemn audience.

The anniversary of the Coronation, and of the battle of Austerlitz, approached. Nothing was spared to render its celebration most pompous and brilliant. At the annual festival a *Te Deum* was added on account of the peace; and the church of Notre Dame received this time not only the Senate and the other great bodies of the State, but the concourse of kings and nobles which then formed the court and cortège of the Emperor: the Kings of Saxony, Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Wirtemberg assisted at the ceremony. Some days after, the Viceroy of Italy and the King and Queen of Bavaria came to

increase this reunion of crowned heads. Napoleon might now have regarded himself as at the summit of his greatness. With the exception that it had not been granted him to erect his eagles on the Tower of London, nothing in Europe was wanting to add to his power and glory.

The desire of completing his dynastic establishment, and seeing himself admitted into the family of kings, inspired Napoleon with views more favourable to the pacification of Europe. But at the same time that he sought friends and allies for his dynasty in foreign courts, he thought of giving a fresh basis to it in France. He expected to fulfil this double aim by proposing his divorce with Josephine, and forming a new marriage, which would promise him heirs of his blood in a direct line, and august alliances founded on an illustrious parentage. The adoption of Eugene no longer sufficed him. Here was, indeed, a successor ready to seize the reins and to govern by himself; but he had not been brought up for the throne, and the recommendation of birth was wanting in the eyes of Napoleon, who had so easily dispensed with it in himself, and who preferred, hereafter, casting the destinies of his empire into the cradle of a child born an Imperial prince, than to confide them to a noble character, to the certain merit and to the well-known capacity of a man ripened beside himself. The putting aside Josephine was, therefore, resolved upon. She expected it, "great as had been the happiness she had conferred upon her husband, and constantly as she had evinced herself his most tender friend," as Napoleon himself says in the Memorial of St. Helena. With the Emperor, considerations of state surmounted all private affections. Above all he was a politician. Josephine had for some time read the fate which was reserved for her in the countenance of her illustrious husband, who seemed to shun her in proportion as he rose in the sphere of monarchical grandeur and vanities. At length that which she had foreseen was realized. The fatal secret which she had perceived in the depth of Napoleon's soul, and the suspicion of which had so cruelly lacerated her own, was revealed to her by her husband on the 30th of November, 1809. The Emperor and the Empress had dined together—Napoleon, sombre and buried in thought, Josephine sorrowful and silent. After dinner, every one took leave. "I read in the alteration of his features," said Josephine afterwards, "the struggle which was passing in his soul; but at length I saw that my hour had come. He trembled, and I felt a shuddering creep all over me. He approached me, took me by the hand, pressed it to his heart, looked at me for a moment without speaking, and then let these fatal words escape: 'Josephine! my good Josephine! you know if I have loved you! It is to you, to you alone, that I have been indebted for the sole moments of bliss which I have tasted in this world. Josephine, my destiny is more powerful than my will. My dearest affections must be sacrificed to the interests

of France'” Josephine would not hear further; but hastily interrupting the Emperor: “Say no more,” she exclaimed, “I expected it; I understand you...” Her sobs interrupted her in her turn;



the words expired on her lips, and she fainted; she was carried to her chamber, where she beheld herself, on recovering her senses, between her daughter Hortense and Corvisart, and face to face with Napoleon.

But this first and violent shock, which the Emperor must have been prepared for, gave place to a calmer and more concentrated grief. Josephine assumed an air of resignation, and consented to all the public demonstrations which were required of her. The official drama was played at the Tuileries, on the evening of the 15th of December, 1809, at a family assemblage, at which the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès and the Secretary of State assisted. Napoleon, who had prepared everything for the accomplishment of his designs, thus expressed himself:—"The policy of my monarchy," said he, "the interests, the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require that I should leave at my decease, to children inheriting my love for my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me. However, for several years I have lost all hope of having children by my dearly beloved wife, the Empress Josephine: it is this which drives me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart, to listen to nought but the good of the State, and to wish for the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may conceive the hope of living sufficiently long to educate according to my own ideas the children with whom it shall please Providence to bless me. God knows how much this resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice which is beyond my power when it is demonstrated to me that it is for the welfare of France. I should also add, that, far from ever having had to complain, I have, on the

contrary, only had cause to land the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife: she has adorned fifteen years of my life; the recollection thereof will always remain graven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand; I therefore wish that she should preserve the rank and title of Empress; but above all may she never doubt of my sentiments, and may she ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

Josephine, mastering the painful emotion which filled her soul, acquitted herself with dignity of the sorrowful part which had been cast for her, and faithfully pronounced the official speech, for which the Arch-chancellor waited, in order to convey it to the Senate. "With the permission of our august and dear husband," said she, "I must declare, that, retaining no hope of bearing children, which might satisfy the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am glad to be enabled to give him a signal proof of devotion and attachment. I owe everything to his bounty: it was his hand which crowned me; and, seated on his throne, I have received nothing but testimonies of affection and love from the French people. I believe I acknowledge all these sentiments by consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which at present is an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprives it of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, so evidently raised by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and re-established the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no way alter the sentiments of my heart; in me the Emperor will always have his best friend. I know how much this act, called for by policy and by such great interests, has lacerated his heart; but we both glory in the sacrifice we make for the good of the country."

The assemblage was numerous; all present were moved to tears. The next day, the Arch-chancellor presented, and the Senate hastened to adopt, a proposition of the *senatus-consulté* pronouncing the divorce of Napoleon and Josephine.

This great act accomplished, the Emperor busied himself with the choice of a new consort. Alexander had caused to be hinted that he would willingly give him the hand of his sister, the Grand-duchess Anne. A negotiation was consequently opened with Russia; but Napoleon presently learnt, through his ambassador at Vienna, M. de Narbonne, that the house of Lorraine was very envious of his alliance, and would be charmed to see him wed an Austrian princess, the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa.

Berthier was sent to Vienna officially to demand the hand of the princess. On his arrival in that capital he delivered the presents with which he had been entrusted, among which was a miniature of Napoleon by M. Horace Vernet, set in diamonds. Being admitted to a solemn audience, at which most of the members of the Austrian Imperial house and the great officers of state were present, the

Emperor Francis, the Arch-duchess, and the Empress-mother, having severally signified their assent to the nuptials, the marriage was celebrated at Vienna on the 11th of March, Berthier officiating as the



representative of Napoleon, and the Archduke Charles for the Emperor of Austria. On the 13th the new Empress departed for France. At Braunau she took leave of her German attendants, being transferred with much ceremony to the care of the Queen of Naples, the Duchesses of Montebello and Bassano, and a large retinue of the male and female nobility of France.

Napoleon was so impatient to behold his youthful bride, that he broke through the formalities which had been prepared for their meeting, which was to have taken place at Compiègne, where the Emperor had gone to receive her. Accompanied only by the King of Naples, he stole out from the castle by a private gate, although it was raining, and placed himself under the porch of a little village church to wait for the future Empress. As soon as Maria Louisa arrived, he entered the carriage, and they immediately repaired to the palace of Compiègne. The illustrious couple afterwards proceeded to St. Cloud, where the civil marriage was celebrated on the 1st of April. The next day, they made their entry into the capital. The ceremony of the religious marriage, surrounded by all the pomp of the court and of the Catholic faith, took place on the same day in a chapel of the Louvre, magnificently decorated for the solemnity. The

Emperor and Empress received the nuptial benediction from the hand of Cardinal Fesch, the grand almoner, in the presence of all the Imperial family; of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and the grand dignitaries of the Empire, as well as of a deputation from all the bodies of the state. This was indeed a popular fête; all Paris gave way to joy, and this movement of public delight communicated itself, not only to all parts of France, but to all the people of the Continent, who fancied they saw, in the marriage of Napoleon with an Arch-duchess of Austria, an assured pledge of the duration of the peace.

On the 3rd of April, the Senate of France, the Senate of Italy, the Legislative Body, the Ministers, Cardinals, the Court of Cassation, etc., came to offer their congratulations to the Emperor and his new consort, who received them seated on their throne, and surrounded by the brilliant cortége which formed the double court of the French empire and of the kingdom of Italy. Two days after, Napoleon and Maria Louisa departed for Compiègne, where they sojourned until the 27th of the same month; and afterwards went to visit Belgium and the departments of the North, from Dunkirk and Lille, to Havre and Rouen. On the 1st of June, their majesties returned to the capital. The enthusiasm which had been displayed on the occasion of the marriage festivals had not cooled. The city of Paris offered a brilliant fête to Napoleon and Maria Louisa, who assisted at the banquet which was given them at the Hotel de Ville.

Among the numerous entertainments given to celebrate the marriage was one by the Austrian ambassador, Prince Schwartzburg, at which a lamentable accident occurred. The Prince's hotel being too small to contain the numerous guests, a temporary ball-room had been constructed in the garden, with a gallery connecting it with the house. About an hour after the company had entered the ball-room, one of the curtains, with which the gallery had been hung, was blown against the candles, and caught fire. In an instant the ceiling and walls were in a blaze, and the flames spread rapidly to the saloon. Napoleon led his wife through a private door which had been reserved for them, and placed her in a carriage; he then returned to the hotel to render what assistance he could. The confusion in the saloon was now terrific; the crowd was rushing towards the entrance, endeavouring to escape, when the floor gave way, and many persons were crushed to death, or enveloped in the flames. When the conflagration had begun to subside, a young and elegantly dressed female was seen to rush forward over the burning rafters, frantically demanding her children. A moment afterwards the figure disappeared. It was the Princess Schwartzburg, who, missing her young family from their apartments in the hotel, had perished in search of them, while her children were assembled in the garden, out of the reach of danger.

Meanwhile, a remarkable event had taken place in the North of Europe. Bernadotte had been chosen crown prince of Sweden: the Diet had called upon him to succeed Charles XIII., in order to maintain the exclusion of the family of Wasa. The representatives of the Swedish nation, doubtless, thought to please Napoleon, and to study the interests of his policy by making a like choice. Perhaps they had even sounded the intentions of the Emperor in respect to this, though some writers have pretended that the election was purely spontaneous, and that the French agent at Stockholm had taken no share in the matter except to oppose it. "Bernadotte was elected," says Napoleon, "because his wife was the sister of my brother Joseph's consort, then reigning at Madrid. Bernadotte, evincing great dependence, came to ask if I were agreeable thereto, protesting with too visible an inquietude that he would not accept of it, unless the same were in accordance with my wishes. I, a monarch chosen by the people, was forced to reply that I knew not how to oppose myself to the elections of other nations. This was what I said to Bernadotte, whose attitude betrayed the anxiety which the expectation of my reply gave birth to. I added that he had but to profit by the kindness of which he was the object; that I did not wish to be considered in any way with regard to his election, but that it had my consent and good wishes. At the same time, I told him, that I felt a sort of forewarning which rendered the thing disagreeable and painful to me."

This evil presentiment was very natural with the Emperor, who could not forget that between him and Bernadotte there had always been a slight secret rivalry, and never any sympathy. However, he was a Frenchman, a soldier of the Republic, and was one of the most distinguished Marshals of the Empire. It seemed to Napoleon that an indissoluble bond, stronger than the feeling of dislike towards himself, irrevocably attached to the destinies of France the illustrious warrior who was called to reign over Sweden. Napoleon did not allow himself to be hindered by the suggestions which arose to him from his knowledge of the character of Bernadotte. He permitted his lieutenant to accede to the wishes of the Swedes.

Almost at the same moment when one of the most celebrated marshals of Napoleon was in expectation of a crown at Stockholm, one of his brothers relinquished his at Amsterdam. Louis Bonaparte was a man of mind, full of good intentions; and the sceptre of Holland, under the trammels by which he was bound, was irksome to him. The continental blockade had fallen heavily on the people of Holland, whose prosperity was chiefly derived from commercial intercourse with England, and King Louis had sufficient spirit to remonstrate with his brother on the mischievous effect of his arbitrary decrees. But Napoleon was not moved by his brother's arguments. In a letter written to him from Schonbrunn he remarked: "It is France which

has cause to complain of the bad feeling which exists amongst you. If you would like me to cite all the Dutch houses which are the trumpets of England, it would be very easy. Your custom-house regulations are so badly enforced, that all the correspondence of England with the continent passes through Holland. Holland is an English province."

Louis Bonaparte persisted in disregarding his brother's wishes, and continued to manifest his sympathy for the people he had been called upon to govern. Napoleon, annoyed at seeing his counsels disregarded, wrote another letter to the King of Holland. We give a few passages from this remarkable missive:—"Your Majesty by mounting the throne of Holland seems to have forgotten that you are French, and have even searched all your mental resources, tormented the delicacy of your conscience, in order to persuade yourself that you are Dutch. The Hollanders who have leant towards France have been neglected and persecuted; those who have served England have been advanced. The French, from the officer to the private soldier, have been driven away and disregarded: and I have had the mortification of beholding in Holland, under a prince of my blood, the French name exposed to dishonour. However, the esteem and honour of the French name, which is so deeply engraven on my heart, I have been enabled to maintain by the bayonets of my soldiers; and it is neither for Holland, nor for any other power whatever, to attain it with impunity. Who can justify the insulting and offensive behaviour towards the nation and towards me, which your majesty has been guilty of? You might comprehend that I cannot detach myself from my predecessors, and that, from Clovis down to the Committee of Public Welfare, I regard myself as heir to all. I know that it has become the fashion, among certain people, to eulogise me and decry France; but those who like not France, like not me; those who speak ill of my people, I consider as my greatest enemies. In my speech to the Legislative body, I evinced my dissatisfaction, for I will not conceal from you that my intention is to reunite Holland with France, as a complement of territory, as the most fatal blow that I can inflict upon England, and as ridding myself of the perpetual insults which the leaders of your cabinet cease not to offer me. The mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse must belong to me. The principle in France, that the Thalweg of the Rhine is our limit, is a fundamental principle. I will therefore leave to Holland the right bank of the Rhine, and I will raise the prohibitions given to my customs as soon as the existing treaties, which shall be renewed, are executed. . . . Your majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which bind you to our common country, you will not take it ill if I forget those which nature has placed between ourselves. In conclusion, the union of Holland with France is that which is most useful to France—to

Holland—to the continent, for it is that which is most injurious to England. This union may be effected either by fair means or by foul; for I have grounds of complaint against Holland, sufficient for declaring war. But, at all times, I shall have no difficulty in agreeing to an arrangement which yields me the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland engages to fulfil the above conditions. Your affectionate brother,

“ NAPOLEON.”

The King of Holland was not converted by this domineering language. He considered himself engaged to the Batavian people alone, and would have reproached himself if he had pursued any other aim than the immediate prosperity of the provinces comprised in the territorial circumference of his kingdom. He persisted in believing that the Continental blockade would not be so fatal to British interests as the Emperor promised himself. “The destruction of Holland,” he wrote to Napoleon, “far from being a means of injuring England, will only improve her, since all the industry and all the wealth of Holland will there take refuge. There are but three means of really injuring England: either by detaching Ireland from her, by attacking her possessions in the Indies, or by a descent. The two last means, although the more efficacious, cannot be executed without a navy; but I am astonished that the first should have been so easily abandoned.”

The correspondence of the brothers did but embroil them the more. At length, a French army, of about fifteen thousand men, was ordered to assemble at Utrecht, for the purpose of being marched across the frontier, if necessary, and occupy Amsterdam. This threatening attitude decided King Louis, who resolved to resign the sceptre he could no longer wield as an independent sovereign. He accordingly, on the 1st of July, 1810, he addressed a message to the Legislative Assembly, setting forth that, in consequence of the displeasure of the Emperor and the invasion of Holland, he found it necessary, to avoid an unavailing struggle, which would be injurious to the country, to abdicate his throne. The act of abdication was immediately afterwards signed. The deed of renunciation stated, that the misfortunes of the country were solely attributable to the hostile intentions of Napoleon, whose anger no sacrifices compatible with the welfare of Holland had been able to appease. At the same time he declared that he relinquished his rights only in favour of his sons, Louis Napoleon, and Prince Louis Charles Napoleon. He appointed his queen—Hortense—Regent; and in her absence (she was then in Paris), the government was entrusted to the Privy Council.

About midnight, on the same day, Louis quitted his palace, and set out in a private carriage for Toplitz, in Bohemia; and on the 9th

of July, a decree was issued for uniting Holland to the French empire—an act which, however arbitrary it may appear, was necessary to the preservation of Holland in alliance with France. The animosity of Louis was greatly inflamed by this infraction of his act of abdication; and he protested indignantly against what he termed his brother's tyrannical usurpation, declaring that the kingdom belonged of right to the nation and the King, still a minor. Queen Hortense, meanwhile, remained with her children in Paris, where, notwithstanding her abandonment by her husband, with whom she had never lived happily, she continued to remain on friendly terms with Napoleon; and, from her beauty and wit, she was generally regarded as one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Imperial court. An ample pension was settled on her by the Emperor, who also created Prince Louis Napoleon Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, a title which had become vacant by the elevation of Murat to the throne of Naples. It was on the occasion of conferring this domain on the young Prince, that Napoleon made use of the following remarkable expressions:—"Come, my son, I will be your father; and you shall lose nothing. The behaviour of your father rends my



heart; his illness alone can explain it. When you are old enough, you will pay off his debt and your own. Never forget, in whatever position my policy and the interest of my empire may place you, that your first duties are towards me, your second towards France;

all your other duties, even towards the people whom I may confide to you, will come after this."

A French panegyrist of the Emperor has remarked:—"If an ordinary king, seated on any other throne than that of France, had held similar language, he would have been reproached, and with good right, for an excess of pride, in having placed himself before his country, and with sacrificing to his policy the interests of allied or vanquished nations. But Napoleon did but place the duties towards himself before the duties towards France, insomuch as he regarded himself as the head and heart of France, and therefore considered the duties of princes, his subjects, towards the nations which he confided to them, should only be secondary to their duties towards France; because he also regarded France as the head and heart of Europe, nay of the civilized world."

The union of the Valais with the empire followed closely upon that of Holland; and shortly afterwards it was found necessary to seize the territory of the Hanseatic League—comprising the free towns of Frankfort, Bremen, and Lubeck—and the whole line of coast along the German Ocean. The interests of France and the fatal Continental system seemed destined, at this period, to bring the whole of Europe under Napoleon's domination. As fast as the commerce of England was driven from one region, it sought refuge in another, and the Emperor had no alternative but to abandon his policy, or extend his sway over every foot of coast capable of sheltering the barque of a smuggler. These new annexations were announced to the Senate on the 10th of December, 1810, by an Imperial message. It read thus:—"The decrees published by the British council, in 1806 and 1807, have lacerated the public rights of Europe. A fresh order of things regulates the universe. Fresh guarantees having become requisite for me, the union with the empire of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, and the establishment of an internal navigation with the Baltic, have appeared to me the most important. I have had prepared the plan of a Canal which will be executed in less than five years, and which will unite the Seine with the Baltic. The union of the Valais is a consequence foreseen by the immense labours which I had executed ten years since in that part of the Alps. Then, by my act of mediation, I separated the Valais from the Helvetic Confederation, already foreseeing the importance of a measure so useful to France and Italy. My finances are in the most prosperous state; I can furnish all the expenses required by this great Empire, without asking fresh sacrifices of my people."

This financial prosperity was not one of the least wonderful features in the reign of Napoleon. It was chiefly due to the spirit of order which he had communicated to all branches of the administration, and which he exacted with great severity. It is surprising that he should

have sustained the war during fifteen years, from one end of Europe to the other, and that he should have governed France, in her extended limits, from Rome to Hamburg, with the same taxes which formerly scarcely sufficed to maintain peace within the narrow circle of ancient France.

The obsequious Senate hastened to reply to the appeal of the Emperor, adopting the union of the Valais and that of Holland with the French Empire, and afterwards voted an address, of which the first sentence is a fair epitome:—"Sire, the profundity and extent of your designs, the frankness and generosity of your policy, and your solicitude for the good of your people, were never more manifested than in the last message addressed to the Senate by your Imperial Majesty."

Soon afterwards Napoleon promulgated a decree, which would have disgraced a semi-civilized prince of the middle ages. This measure ordered the destruction of all English manufactured goods and Colonial produce, whether smuggled or in bond, throughout the Empire. "This," says De Bourrienne, "was felt with sufficient severity in the interior of France: but none, save those who witnessed it, can conceive the utter destitution which the insane act caused in commercial districts. The first necessities of life were burned in vast quantities before the eyes of men who were perishing for want of them; and the breasts of a multitude of all classes were filled with the deadliest hatred against the author of the system, the maintenance of which required such dreadful sacrifices."

About this time the Emperor issued some arbitrary decrees against the public press. The Continental blockade, which had wrought so much suffering throughout the Continent, was freely commented on and condemned by the various organs of public opinion; and Napoleon felt it to be necessary to impose additional fetters on the medium through which assaults began to be multiplied against a system which he felt to be vulnerable at every point. Accordingly, the number of newspapers was diminished in the several departments—especially in those which had been recently annexed to the Empire—a more rigid censorship was established over all books, pamphlets, literary and scientific works, and theatrical representations: even the subjects for discussion by public bodies were limited, so as to exclude all reference to the foreign and domestic policy of the Emperor.

Soon after these events, another attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor. A young German nobleman, named La Sahla, arrived in Paris, from Leipsic, on the 16th of February, 1811, and was arrested on the 24th in the chapel of the Tuileries, whither he had gone with the intention of executing his diabolical purpose. He made a full confession of his designs and motives. "At Dresden," he said, "I heard a sermon preached by M. Reinhart, a Lutheran clergyman, in which Napoleon, although not actually named, was

compared, with sufficient distinctness, to Nero. This aroused a feeling of hatred towards the Emperor; and since then the evils inflicted on Germany have sunk deep into my heart. While pursuing my studies at Leipsic, I heard of the conscription; of the attempt of Stapps; of the seizure of the free States of my country; and, finally, beheld the English merchandise committed to the flames. This last act of idiotic tyranny afflicted me beyond endurance. When I saw our commerce annihilated, our shops shut, and desolation and despair weighing down all classes of citizens, I resolved to kill the author of these numerous evils. . . . I had several plans for his destruction; to shoot him while getting into his carriage, or while walking with Duroc in the gardens of the Tuileries, or at mass, or at the Théâtre Français. With a double-barrelled pistol I was sure of my man at a distance of thirty paces. . . . I never deceived myself as to the fate which awaited me. I knew that I should be killed on the spot. Life, however, imported little to me. Had Stapps despised death as I do, Napoleon had not now existed; for Stapps had the good fortune to be near him, but he trembled. I do not fear death. I believe firmly in predestination. I have read that three-and-twenty unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of Henry IV., yet the twenty-fourth succeeded. Forty attempts may be made against Napoleon before he is taken off; but each gives a chance the less for him and the greater for others; and what is the life of a man compared with the destruction of a tyrant." Notwithstanding his boasted courage, however, La Sahla solicited his life, which was granted by the Emperor, on its being represented to him that the young German was a lunatic. He remained a prisoner in the castle of Vincennes till 1814; when he was liberated by the Bourbons, and returned for awhile to Saxony, where his uncle was Minister of State. Subsequently his hatred of Napoleon changed to the most extravagant admiration, and he repaired to Paris to offer his services to the Emperor. On hearing the result of the battle of Waterloo, he is said to have thrown himself into the Seine.

In the autumn of 1810, the pregnancy of the Empress had been officially announced to the French Senate. On the evening of the 19th of March, 1811, it became known throughout Paris that Maria Louisa was indisposed, and her accouchement hourly expected. At first a perilous delivery was feared. The celebrated Dubois, foreseeing a case in which a difficult operation might become necessary, asked Napoleon what should be done, if they were reduced to choose between saving the mother or the child. "Think but of the mother," said the Emperor immediately, the affections of the man triumphing, at this solemn moment, over the interests and combinations of the monarch. On the 20th, at nine o'clock in the morning, all his anxieties had ceased, all his desires were fulfilled; Maria Louisa was brought to bed of a son, which Napoleon immediately received into

his arms, and hastened to exhibit to the officers of his household, exclaiming in the intoxication of joy: "Behold the King of Rome," the title which, it had been announced, would be conferred on a son. The noise of cannon shortly announced to the capital the happy event which crowned the wishes of the chief of the Empire. Fêtes and public rejoicings soon gave evidence of the share which the people took in the happiness of their ruler. Naples, Milan, all the towns where French domination had penetrated, rivalled Paris in demonstrations of joy. The bodies of the state and foreign ambassadors offered their congratulations to the happy father of the King of Rome. The Prince of Hatzfeld—the same whom Napoleon had pardoned at Berlin, in consideration of the tears of his wife—represented the King of Prussia on this occasion.

The baptism of the King of Rome took place on the 9th of June, at Notre Dame. All Paris lined the path of the Emperor. The young prince was baptised by his great uncle, Cardinal Fesch. For godfather he had his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, and received the names of Napoleon Francis Charles Joseph. His baptism was the signal for great rejoicings throughout the whole extent of the vast dominions of his father. The prefect of the Seine and the municipal body of Paris fêted the mayors of the various cities of the Empire and of the kingdom of Italy. Even M. de Bourrienne, who frequently detracted from Napoleon, is forced to confess that "the entry into the world of the King of Rome was saluted by a general enthusiasm, and that no child ever saw the light of day surrounded by so brilliant a crown of glory."

Meanwhile, the quarrel of Napoleon with the Pope still continued, and occasioned much dissatisfaction throughout Catholic Europe. Pius, notwithstanding his incarceration, firmly refused to concede his temporal sovereignty; and at length dexterously availed himself of his spiritual prerogative to give another character to the dispute. At the close of 1810, he refused to grant canonical institution to a bishop whom Napoleon had appointed to the See of Florence, and thus turned the question from a political to a religious one. The Emperor, in return, called a General Council of the Bishops of the Empire, and desired its decision upon the matter at issue, and the Council, after considerable altercation, issued a decree, establishing the right of the Emperor to nominate to vacant sees.

The venerable old man remained still at Savona, where he lived in the greatest simplicity. One day the Emperor was discussing with Cardinal Fesch the subject of the Pope's recusancy; the latter made some remarks which put the former into a fury, and, calling both his uncle and the holy father two old fools, he added: "The Pope is an obstinate old fellow, and will listen to nothing! No, most assuredly, I will not send him back to Rome!"—"He refuses to remain at Savona."—"Eh, well! where does he suppose I mean

to send him then?"—"To Heaven most likely," added the Cardinal with great coolness. Subsequently the Emperor in the commencement of 1812, transferred him to Fontainebleau, under the friendly care of the accomplished Denon, who had accompanied the First Consul to Egypt. Two motives induced this change of residence,—fear of disturbances in Italy while the Pope remained so near, and apprehension that the English in the Bay of Genoa might make a dash and rescue the venerable captive. "The Pope," says Denon himself, "conceived great friendship for me, and always addressed me, 'my son,' and delighted in conversing on our Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my book; but as all is not quite orthodox therein, I hesitated; but he insisted. After having finished the perusal, the holy father said it had interested him very much, and I endeavoured to gloss over the objectionable points relative to the Mosaic account of the Creation. 'It is all one, my son,' he repeated on several occasions, 'it is quite the same; all that is extremely curious; in truth I did not know it before.' Then," pursued Denon, "I thought I might venture to tell his Holiness the cause of my hesitation, and that he had formerly excommunicated both the work and author. 'Excommunicated thee, my son!' returned the Pope, with the most touching kindness, 'have I excommunicated thee? I am very sorry for it! I am sure I never intended to do so.'" Denon says that he was greatly touched by the virtues and resignation of the holy father; who, notwithstanding, would sooner have become a martyr than have yielded the temporal sovereignty of Rome.





CHAPTER XXV.

RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT THE PROGRESS OF MILITARY AFFAIRS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1809—1812.



LEAVING for a time the onward course of events, it is necessary to take a cursory review of the proceedings of the hostile armies which maintained such a protracted and important struggle in the Peninsula. Since the Emperor had quitted Spain, his lieutenants, incessantly harassed by the guerillas, had also frequently to do battle with the regular troops of which the Anglo-Spanish armies were composed; but despite the divers chances of these daily rencounters, and after several sanguinary battles and murderous sieges, the military authority of King Joseph was established at all points of the Spanish monarchy.

At the commencement of 1809, and after the return of Napoleon to France, Palafox, who had thrown himself into Saragossa after the rout of Tudela, had defended the capital of Arragon with the greatest heroism. The siege was prosecuted with the utmost skill and valour; and the most undaunted heroism was displayed in the defence. Priests were seen in some of the streets, with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, leading crowds of townsmen to the ramparts; in others, women and children were carrying refreshments to their kinsmen; or, mingled with the combatants, were rushing upon the foe to avenge the deaths of fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. The Spaniards, struggling for freedom and national independence, exhibited a spectacle worthy of Europe and the age, and an example for time to come. The French remained for several

months under the walls of Saragossa, and when the bravery of the soldiers, and science of the generals, and all the resources of the art of war skilfully brought into operation by the chiefs of the artillery, had caused the outer works of the place, and the ramparts of the town, to fall beneath the power of the Imperial arms, it was still requisite to continue this desperate struggle in the streets, and form, in a manner, the siege of each particular house. At length, Spanish obstinacy was forced to yield to French valour.



When the French entered the city, upwards of six thousand bodies were found in the streets and trenches. Among the prisoners was Augustina, called, for the bravery she had exhibited in the siege, "The Maid of Saragossa." She was of humble parentage, but was gifted with a genius equal to her courage, and her counsel was not less admirable than her skill and constancy. She was not the only heroine of the time. One lady, named Manuella Sanchez, was shot through the heart during the siege; and another, Donna Benita, who had assisted to supply provisions, tend the wounded, and hurl stones from the house-tops upon such of the French soldiery as had made their way into the streets, survived the dangers of the siege only to expire of grief on learning the death of her daughter. Six hundred women and children perished during the memorable siege of this city. In all there were about forty thousand of the Spaniards slain. On the 21st of February, the town surrendered at discretion to Marshal Lannes. The president of the Junta, Mariano Dominguez, took the oath of fidelity to King Joseph. "We have performed our duty against you," said he to the Marshal, "in defending ourselves to the last extremity; we shall, for the future, maintain our new engagements with the same constancy."

It would be difficult to describe the state of horror and desolation

into which the capital of Arragon was plunged. A frightful epidemic had just broken out, to add its ravages to those of the war. "The hospitals," says an illustrious Marshal in his memoirs, "could no longer receive the sick and wounded. The cemeteries were insufficient to contain the dead; corpses, sewn into sacks, were scattered by hundreds before the church-doors." The daily deaths amounted, it is said, to about three hundred and fifty. "Men stretched upon straw," says Mr. Southey, "lay breathing their last in helpless misery, spreading with their dying breath the mortal taint of their disease; who, if they had fallen in action, would have died with the exultation of martyrs. Neither medicines nor necessary food were to be procured, nor needful attendance; for the ministers of charity themselves became victims of the disease. The church of the Pilar was crowded with poor creatures; who, despairing of life, hoped now for nothing more than to die in the presence of their tutelar saint. The slightest wound produced gangrene and death in bodies so prepared for dissolution, by distress of mind, agitation, want of proper aliment, and of sleep."

The taking of Saragossa was followed by that of Jaca and Mouzon. Nevertheless, all these reverses could not shake the constancy of the Spanish insurgents. A portion of the French army of Arragon marched into Castile, leaving to the third division the care of maintaining a conquest which had cost the besiegers eight thousand men. As soon as General Blake, who was then in Catalonia, learnt that the conquerors of Palafox were divided, and that the fifth division had left the Ebro in order to march towards the Tagus, he left Tortosa at the head of forty thousand men, and penetrated into Arragon, with the intention and hope of retaking Saragossa.

This attempt was at first marked by a slight advantage which Blake obtained at Alcanitz. But the third division was commanded by a bold and skilful chief, Suchet, who had gained his high rank in the army by striking services rendered in the wars of Italy and Germany, and who was the cause of Napoleon subsequently saying that, if he had had two marshals like him in Spain, he would have conquered and maintained the Peninsula, so unheard of were the successes which his just, conciliating, and administrative spirit, his military tact, and his bravery enabled him to obtain. Suchet had been called to replace Junot in Arragon. This wise and brave warrior had soon repaired the affront of a first check, and restored victory to the flag of France. Arragon appeared on the point of being pacified when the appearance of a new guerilla chief, the young Mina, rekindled the flame of insurrection in this province. But General Suchet did not allow the conflagration time to develop or extend itself. He pursued Mina, dispersed his bands, and took him prisoner.

The French army was not so fortunate in Catalonia. The Generals

had great difficulty in maintaining their positions, having constantly to struggle against the numerous bodies of partisans which the Catalonian population furnished, or against the regular troops of Caro, Blake, and O'Donnell. In order to acquire for the French army the same superiority at this point as in Arragon, it became necessary to increase the power of Suchet, and cause him to descend from the mountains of Saragossa into the plains of Tarragona and Valencia. Before effecting this movement, the leader of the third division employed himself in securing the submission of the province which he was about to abandon, by taking possession of the fortresses which mark, from north to south, the limit of Arragon and Catalonia. This was an affair of some months. On the 4th of April 1810, he was master of Balaguer; and, the 13th of June of the same year, Lerida, Mequinenza, and Morella were also in his power. The double road of Valencia and Tortosa were thus opened to the pacificator of Arragon; he took that of Tortosa. The Spanish General Caro at first manifested some intention of opposing himself to the siege of this place; but on the approach of Suchet he changed his design, and hastily retired. Suchet, nevertheless, waited before attacking Tortosa, until the seventh division should have furnished him with the indispensable reinforcements which he had demanded. These reinforcements arrived in the course of December 1810, and on the 1st of January, 1811, the French flag floated over the place.

Tortosa being subdued, the conqueror, true to his prudential system, refrained from prosecuting his successes in Catalonia until he had again freed Arragon from several bands which had endeavoured to penetrate there, under the command of Villacampa, Empecinado, and the elder Mina. The expulsion of these three chiefs occupied Suchet for several months. Villacampa and Empecinado withdrew into the province of Cuenca; Mina took refuge in the mountains of Navarre; and Suchet immediately re-appeared in Catalonia, at the gates of Tarragona. This town was one of the hot-beds of the insurrection in the North of the Peninsula; a garrison of eight thousand men was shut up in it, certain of being revictualled from the sea. General Suchet invested the place with forty thousand men, and carried it by assault at the end of two months on the 21st of June, 1811. This fresh and important conquest filled the Emperor with joy, who attached so much the more value to the success of his armies in Spain, since they were more rare and less decisive in that country than in any other part of Europe. Thus, the already favourable opinion which he had manifested towards General Suchet was more and more strengthened in the mind of Napoleon, who hastened to raise the conqueror of Tarragona to the dignity of Marshal of the Empire.

The occupation of Mount Sierra followed close upon the taking of Tarragona. At this period the French arms had decidedly resumed

the ascendancy which they had exercised in the brightest days of the war of Germany and Italy. The Spanish regency, fearing that Valencia would meet with the same fate as the strong places of Catalonia, threw a body of ten thousand men into the town, under the orders of Blake, in order to stay the triumphal march of Suchet. The castles of Oropeza and Sagonta were put in a state of defence ; but they could make no stand against the French impetuosity. The castle of Oropeza was easily carried, and that of Sagonta, although succoured by Blake, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, was forced to capitulate on the 26th of October, 1811, after several assaults, and the day after a bloody battle, in which the Spanish general, completely defeated, lost more than five thousand men.

There was nothing further to impede a direct attack upon Valencia. It was then that, in order to prevent or retard the fall of this place, Empecinado and Mina, who figured amongst the greatest of the heroes of national independence, endeavoured to operate a diversion in favour of Blake, by fresh incursions in the mountains of Arragon. Marshal Suchet, in order to provide against the danger which might have befallen him on this side, demanded reinforcements, and as soon as he had obtained them, passed the Guadalquivir, overthrew a portion of the Spanish army in the kingdom of Murcia, and compelled the other to take refuge in Valencia. After a short siege, the garrison, eighteen thousand men strong, and its chief, General Blake, were made prisoners. It was on the 10th of January, 1812, that Valencia opened her gates to the French army. On the 24th of the same month, the Emperor, who always bestowed some striking recompense where eminent services had been performed, published a decree, by which he established, in the kingdom of Valencia, a capital of the value of two hundred millions of francs, to be distributed among the generals, officers, and soldiers of the army of Arragon. The same decree named Marshal Suchet Duke of Albufera, with all the revenues attached to this duchy.

During the three years which elapsed between the taking of Saragossa and of Valencia, the vicissitudes of the war, though less favourable in the West and South for the cause of King Joseph, shed fresh glory on the French arms. After the taking of Corunna, in January, 1809, Marshal Soult had invaded this last kingdom, whilst Marshal Ney pursued the conquest and pacification of Galicia and the Asturias ; and Marshal Victor defeated, at Medellin, the army of Estremadura, commanded by General Cuesta. The progress of Marshal Soult in Portugal was brilliant and rapid ; but it was not of long duration. He had beaten Romana on the 6th of March, on the banks of the Tamega, and possessed himself successively of Chavès, Braga, Guimaraens, and Oporto. This last town, the second in Portugal, had made vain demonstrations of defence ; but had submitted after the first assault, on the 20th of March, 1809, the day following the

battle of Medellin, and two days after that of Ciudad Real, in which General Sebastiani completely routed the Duke of Infantado.

These almost simultaneous successes of the divers chiefs of the French army were, nevertheless, unproductive of any result in the minds of the population, who became more and more irritated instead of intimidated. A general insurrection broke out in Estremadura; the junta of Badajoz replied with haughtiness to the summons of the conqueror of Medellin. At the same time, Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched from Lisbon towards Oporto, in order to regain this important conquest from Marshal Soult, who, in consequence of the rising in Estremadura, was deprived of the co-operation of Marshal Victor, and was besides menaced from the side of Tamega by the Portuguese General Sylveira, who was about to reinforce Marshal Beresford. In this perilous position, the French army seemed destined to be inevitably subjected a third time



to an affront like those of Baylen and Cintra; but on this occasion it had for a leader one of the most skilful and intelligent captains of the age. "Soult," says the author of 'The Wars of the Revolution,'

“saved it by the promptitude and aptness of his measures. He unhesitating sacrificed arms, ammunition, and provision; and hastened to gain Guimarens; then, leaving Braga to the left, where Sir Arthur threatened to fall upon him, he plunged into the mountains which give rise to the Cavado. At the end of two days, they reached Ruivaens, at which point the road branched off to Chavès, where Sylveira was posted. This road was a steep mountain pass, which ran close upon the bed of the torrent, and terminated at Montalegro. The whole army betook itself to these narrow defiles, where two men could scarcely walk abreast. At their feet the Cavado, swollen by a violent rain, rolled sullenly on; above their heads were suspended rocks whence descended an incessant shower of musketry. Presently the road, already so wearisome, became obstructed from time to time by streams which had overflowed their steep banks. Soult surmounted all these obstacles; and succeeded in concealing his march from the two hostile generals, and reaching the frontier, whence he gained Orense. Only a few were lost at the entrance of the defile of Cavado. The cavalry preserved its horses, and the infantry its arms. This retreat, superior even to that of Moore, is one of the Marshal's titles to glory. Pressed, as had been the English General, between two armies, superior in numbers, he evaded them both. He passed through the midst of an insurgent population; he knew how to inspire his soldiers with sufficient confidence to make them endure with admirable constancy the privations, the storms, and difficulties of a route where they were escorted by a rolling fire, to which they could not respond.”

Marshal Soult, thus escaped as by a miracle from Wellesley, Beresford, and Sylveira, suddenly reappeared in Spain to fall again upon Romana, whom he forced to raise the siege of Lugo with the greatest precipitation. Ney, who had obtained the same results in the Asturias as Suchet in Arragon, advanced to meet Soult, and concerted with him to achieve the destruction of the army of Romana, and subdue the insurgents of Galicia. But the military movements which the enemy was preparing in the centre of the Peninsula soon obliged these two marshals to modify their combinations and to change their plans.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, not having been able to succeed in his expedition against Soult, had returned towards Estremadura, where he hoped to be more fortunate against the division of Victor. He had quitted his camp of Abrantes, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, supported, on the right, by the Spanish army of Cuesta, thirty-six thousand men strong, and on the left by the legion of Sir Robert Wilson, composed of four thousand men. He could also reckon on the assistance of a body of twenty-two thousand men, commanded by Venegas, and who was ready to march into the plains of La Mancha, whilst the Duke of Del Parque manœuvred in the North, with the

remains of Romana's troops, and Beresford operated on the frontiers of Estremadura, with a body of fifteen thousand Portuguese, destined to act as a reserve. King Joseph comprehended the danger which threatened him. He ordered a grand concentration of the various bodies of the French army on the Tagus, towards Talavera de la Reyna. But, without giving Soult and Mortier time to effect a junction, Joseph, preferring the advice of Victor to that of Jourdan, his major-general, and not even waiting for the arrival of Sebastiani, who was to come from Toledo to join them, engaged in battle. On July 28th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the French marched to the attack. Eighty pieces of artillery opened a destructive fire on the combined armies, and the light troops, following the storm of bullets, poured into the vale of Talavera, leading on the dense columns of Imperial infantry to the foot of the British line. The English soldiers met them with unflinching firmness, and repulsed them with terrible carnage. Though beaten back in their first attempt, the French rallied, and made head for another assault, but were again compelled to retire in disorder. Several movements followed, in which the French were so successful, that the British centre was absolutely broken. Sir Arthur Wellesley saw and seized the critical moment to turn the fortune of the day. Cavalry and infantry were poured against the advancing battalions, till the French, relaxing their exertions by degrees, were brought first to halt from pursuit, and eventually to give way, and return to the position they had previously occupied. At six o'clock in the evening all hostility had ceased; each army occupying the ground it had held in the morning. The loss on each side was about equal, amounting to eight thousand men in killed and wounded. The bad conduct of the Spaniards alone prevented Talavera from being a decisive victory. As it was, after resting on the field during the 29th and 30th, the British General, being unable to obtain provisions for his troops, and who, moreover, had received information that Soult was rapidly advancing on his rear, was compelled to retreat, his example being followed so readily by the Spaniards, that the wounded English, whom Cuesta had undertaken to protect, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 8th of August, Cuesta was totally defeated at Arzobispo by Soult; while Marshal Ney, returning from Galicia, put to flight, at Banos, the Portuguese regiment of Sir Robert Wilson. On the same day General Venegas was defeated with great slaughter at Almonacid, with the loss of four thousand prisoners, a considerable number of guns and carriages, and much baggage and ammunition. The remains of the legion took refuge in the passes of the Sierra Morena.

The Spaniards now resolved to attempt a fresh irruption into La Mancha, and again to try and gain possession of Madrid. Areizaga, at the head of sixty thousand men, advanced on the capital, following

the direction of Toledo and Aranjuez, whilst the Duke Del Parque effected his movement on the road to Burgos. Marshal Soult was now Commander-in-chief of the French army, as well as successor to



Marshal Jourdan in the functions of major-general. Having united with him Victor, Mortier and Sebastiani, he marched straight upon the Spaniards, whom he caused to fall back before him as far as Ocana, where the Spanish army was annihilated, on the 18th of November, 1809. During this memorable battle, Areizaga, instead of fighting at the head of his troops, retired to the clock-house of the town of Ocana, and from this elevated position beheld the destruction of his army. In addition to a great number of killed and wounded, he lost five-and-twenty stand of colours, twelve hundred carriages, thirty-six thousand muskets, three thousand horses, mules, and draught oxen, forty-five pieces of artillery, and left thirty thousand prisoners in the power of the conqueror. The French troops, whose loss did not exceed seventeen hundred in killed and wounded, had by this time acquired such contempt for their foes, that whole troops of the captives, after being deprived of their arms, were set at liberty, and scornfully told to "return home, and abandon war as an art they were unfit for."

The defeat of Areizaga compelled the retreat of the Duke of Albuquerque, who had remained in Estremadura in order to support his left, and who fled to Teruxillo. The Duke Del Parque, equally

compromised by the disaster of Ocana, commenced a retreat and reached Ciudad Rodrigo, not, however, without meeting with a severe check. Being pursued by Kellerman, he was overtaken at the bridge of Alba de Tormes, and defeated on the 26th of November,



almost without attempting to defend himself; his whole army having thrown aside its arms, and taken to flight at the first charge. In this rout he lost three thousand men, and the whole of his guns and baggage.

The time seemed now to have arrived for dealing a decisive blow to the Spanish insurrection and to the intervention of the English. The Emperor had triumphantly closed his campaign against Austria, and he was enabled to direct his victorious troops towards the Peninsula. The French army in Spain was, therefore, increased to three hundred thousand men, in the opening months of 1810, and placed under the orders of King Joseph, whose supreme command over it was but nominal, being in reality exercised by the major-general, Marshal Soult. The object of the first operation was the attack of the Sierra Morena, all the passes of which were defended, but which was nevertheless taken in one day (the 20th of January, 1810), despite the vigorous resistance of the Spaniards. From this period, the south of the Peninsula was entirely opened to the French army. Grenada, Seville, Malaga, Murcia, Olivenza, and Badajoz, fell successively beneath the power of the Imperial arms. But Cadiz resisted. This last barrier of Spanish independence was subjected

to a strict blockade on the land side ; but the sea remained opened to her ; by which she was plentifully supplied with provisions, ammunition, men, money, and what was perhaps of more value, military skill and good counsel from the English ; by means of which she was enabled to make an efficient defence against Marshal Victor.

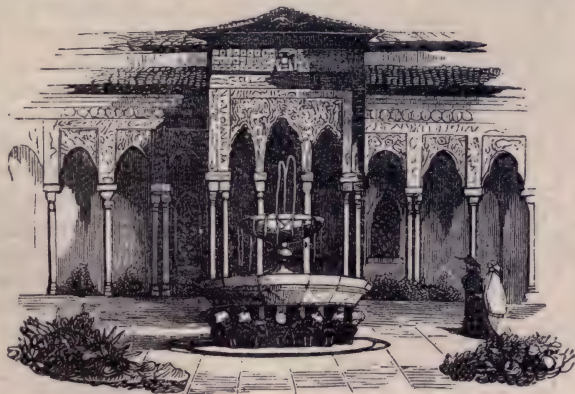
Whilst Soult was triumphantly marching through Andalusia, pursuing the remains of the Spanish army, besieging and taking places, Massena, decked with the laurels of Essling and Wagram, entered Spain, and passing through the province of Leon, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, invaded Portugal, in the hope of expelling the English General. But he had reckoned on the co-operation of the army of Andalusia, which, however, failed him. Soult, withheld by the Anglo-Spaniards of Algesiras and Gibraltar, who incessantly menaced Andalusia and the adjoining provinces, was unable to make any diversion in favour of the Army of Portugal. At first Massena's operations appeared very auspicious. The town of Ciudad Rodrigo, after a brave resistance, was compelled to surrender on the 11th of July, 1810 ; on the 24th of the same month, the division of General Crawford was dislodged from Almeida, and made to fall back upon the main body of the British and Portuguese. The French did not think fit to profit by their successes until September. As they advanced, Wellington slowly retreated until he arrived at the Sierra de Busaco, where he determined to halt and give battle. An engagement therefore took place on the 27th, in which the French were repulsed with a loss of four thousand five hundred men in killed and wounded, while that of the Anglo-Spaniards amounted to about thirteen hundred. The English general, nevertheless, still continued to fall back ; and early in October reached the lines of Torres Vedras. Massena, perceiving that it would be impossible with his limited means to force these formidable works, began his return towards Spain, in November, and sustained a most disastrous retreat. Wellington pursued the French army as far as the Spanish territory. "Every horror," says Colonel Napier, "that could make war hideous, attended this dreadful march ! Distress ! conflagration, death in all modes ! from wounds, fatigue, water, the flames, and starvation. On every side was unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance ! I myself saw a peasant hounding on his dog to devour the dead and the dying ; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained, smote even the brute creation." During the retreat several actions of minor importance occurred, and a general engagement at Fuentes d'Onore, in which both armies claimed to be victors. Massena was soon afterwards recalled to France, and was succeeded in the command by Marmont, who continued the disastrous retreat.

Olivenza, meanwhile had been taken by the British, and Badajoz invested. Soult, being informed of the progress of the English, hastened to attack Beresford at Albuera. About an equal number

of men were slain on either side; the allies, however, compelled their enemies to retire from the field.

King Joseph, disgusted with the independent conduct of the French Marshals and Generals, and being possessed of no authority, resolved to renounce his throne; and, taking with him an escort of five thousand men, passed the Spanish frontier, and hastened to Paris. Napoleon, who perceived the evil consequences that must arise from this precipitate act of his brother, after considerable persuasion, and it is even said threats, induced him to return to his dominions. The aspect of affairs, however, had already begun to decline in Spain.

The English carried Ciudad Rodrigo by assault, on the 19th of January, 1812, after a twelve days' siege; while the storming of Badajoz took place in the night of the 5th of April. The loss of life on both sides was immense. Soult had marched to its relief; but did not arrive until the day after the capitulation, upon which he immediately retreated towards Seville, where he occupied himself in pacifying Andalusia, and keeping the partisans of La Ronda, and the camp of St. Roch in check. But the Anglo-Spaniards pursued their success, and advanced upon Salamanca, where they gave battle to Marmont on the 22nd of July, and having routed, pursued him to Valladolid. They then, still headed by Wellington, marched for Estremadura, and thence to La Mancha, beat the army of the centre, occupied Madrid, and forced Joseph to retire to Valencia and place himself under the protection of Suchet. From that moment the occupation of Andalusia by the French was no longer possible. The blockade of Cadiz was abandoned; and Marshal Soult, effecting his retreat by way of Grenada and Murcia, joined Suchet near Alicante, and afterwards united himself with the army of the centre, in order again to take the road to Madrid, and prepare for reconquering this capital.





CHAPTER XXVI

RUPTURE WITH THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN.—PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN.—RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS.—SMOLENSK.—RESOLUTION TO ADVANCE UPON MOSCOW.—BATTLE OF BORODINO. 1812.



ALEXANDER, notwithstanding the cordial demonstrations of Tilsit and Erfurt, was deeply offended with the conditions of the treaty of Schonbrunn. He had expected that the Polish provinces severed from Austria would have been ceded to Russia; and, on finding that Cracow and Western Gallicia were annexed to the duchy of Warsaw, he naturally became apprehensive that his ally waited only a favourable opportunity to reunite all

the parts of that dismembered realm, in order to form them again into a powerful State, and establish a frontier to Europe which should drive back the tide of Russian aggression. In order to gain some security for himself in this respect, he used every art in order to obtain of Napoleon an express and solemn declaration that he would never attempt to re-establish the Polish nationality. Once, he imagined his most ardent desire accomplished. On the 5th of January, 1810, the French ambassador, Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, signed a form of convention, which formally put forth:—1st. That the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established; 2nd. That the names of Poland and Polish should be forbidden on all occasions; 3rd. That the duchy of Varsovia should never receive any territorial aggrandizement from any portion of the ancient kingdom of Poland; 4th. That the convention should be rendered public.

Caulaincourt was not of that diplomatic school of which the master has said, "that speech had been given to man solely in order to assist him in concealing his ideas." An aptitude for business, and skill in negotiations, were in him allied to a great elevation of character, and the finesse of his mind always remained subject to the rectitude of his soul. It must also be confessed that the Duke of Vicenza, in gaining the esteem and affection of the Czar by his polished manners and eminent qualities, had, in his turn, allowed himself to be somewhat thrown off his guard by his great intimacy with the brilliant Alexander. Napoleon refused to approve of that which his ambassador had agreed to. Dissatisfied with Alexander, who did but half execute the Continental Blockade, and having no longer any motive for sacrificing one of his most cherished ideas of European policy, he remained firmly attached to the opinion which he had long expressed, "that the re-establishment of Poland was desirable for all the western powers, and that as long as this kingdom should remain in subjection, Europe would be without frontiers on the side of Asia." The Czar, nevertheless, persisted, and sent a fresh form of declaration, which Napoleon refused to entertain. Prince Kourakin, therefore, upon receiving orders from St. Petersburg, declared to the Emperor of the French that his prolonged refusal would be taken for a certain indication of his intentions in favour of Poland. Napoleon, more annoyed than intimidated by this communication of the Muscovite negociator, hastily replied: "What does Russia pretend by such language? Does she wish for war?... If I had wished to re-establish Poland, I would have said so, and would not have withdrawn my troops from Germany.... But I will not dishonour myself by declaring that the kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established, render myself ridiculous by speaking the language of divinity, nor injure the memory of my name, by placing the seal to this act of Machiavelian policy; for to declare that Poland should never be established, is in a manner to avow the sharing of that kingdom. No, I cannot engage to arm myself against people who have well served me, who have evinced a constant good will, and the greatest devotion."

The moment had not arrived for Alexander to assume a hostile attitude; but no longer expecting anything from the French alliance, when Napoleon refused to pronounce decisively against the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and inclined to the Austrian policy in regard to the Eastern question, by limiting the concessions made at Erfurt to the possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, by which he was excluded from the right bank and the mouths of the Danube, the Czar, who had hitherto allowed himself to violate the Continental Blockade, secretly and by contraband manœuvres, no longer feared to infringe it openly in his official acts. On the 15th of January, 1811, he published an ukase which prohibited French products, such as wines and articles of luxury, and which favoured the importation

into his dominions of colonial produce by a considerable abatement of the tariffs in their favour. A distinction was also made in the mode of punishing any infringement of the ukase: French merchandise was to be burnt, and English or Colonial productions only confiscated.

Napoleon was violently irritated on reading the official notification of this act. He ordered the Duke of Vicenza to demand the repeal of the obnoxious ukase. But Alexander had not boldly advanced thus far in order to cover himself with shame, by cowardly recoiling at the first protestation of France. So important a measure had not been taken without having been long and maturely deliberated upon. The ukase, therefore, remained as it had been published, and the considerable preparations for war by which it had been preceded were continued. Napoleon armed in his turn. The garrison of Dantzic was reinforced, and numerous masses traversed Germany, and were quartered in the duchy of Varsovia, in order to be in readiness to take the field the moment war was declared. Alexander, upon this, in order to gain time, demanded explanations. He was told in reply, that France and her allies were taking measures against the hostile designs which his military preparations caused to be suspected. He persisted that all his intentions were pacific; but, at the same time renewing all his grievances, by insisting on the declaration relative to Poland, and on the restoration of the Duchy of Oldenburg, which Napoleon had been obliged to invade, it having become the most active seat of European smuggling, and threatened to annul the Continental Blockade.

On the 23rd of December, 1811, the Senate had placed at the disposal of the Minister of War a contingent of a hundred and twenty thousand men, exclusive of the conscription of 1812. On the 13th of March following, a new senatorial act organized the National Guard, and divided it into three *bans*. A few days after, on the 17th, sixty thousand men of the first *ban* were declared disposable for the formation of an army for the defence of the interior.

Not satisfied with disposing everything for war in the bosom of the Empire, Napoleon, who wished to march into Russia at the head of the rest of Europe, busied himself in forming and cementing, externally, powerful allies. Two treaties were concluded to this effect; the one with Prussia and the other with Austria, on the 24th of February and 14th of March, 1812. The most amicable assurances were then lavished by the courts of Vienna and Berlin on the victorious potentate, whom fortune did not yet seem to menace with approaching treason.

All the disposable French troops, with thirty thousand Austrians and fifteen thousand Prussians; also numerous armies from Italy and the States of the Rhenish Confederation, were equipped ready for marching at the shortest notice. The Poles were also appealed

to, and the Abbé de Pradt was despatched to Poland, in order to offer "Liberty and Independence" to the inhabitants. In a letter to his minister, Napoleon said: "The object of your mission is to enlighten, encourage, and direct the operations of the Polish patriots. The misfortunes and weakness of the Poles were occasioned by an aristocracy knowing neither law nor restraint. At that period, as at present, the nobility were powerful, the citizens oppressed, and the people of no account. Notwithstanding these disorders, a love of liberty and independence prevailed throughout the country, and long supported its feeble existence. These sentiments have gained strength by time and oppression. Patriotism is an attribute of the Poles; and exists even among members of the highest families... Poland shall be free and independent!"

Fouché, Cardinal Fesch, and other noted counsellors strove to dissuade Napoleon from the impending war; but the Emperor was confident, and seems to have entertained no doubt of his success. "The war," he said, "is a wise measure, called for by the true interests of France and the general welfare. The great power I already have attained, compels me to assume an universal dictatorship. My views are not ambitious. I desire to obtain no further acquisition; and reserve to myself only the glory of doing good, and the blessings of posterity. There must be but one European code; one court of appeal; one system of money, weights and measures; equal justice and uniform laws throughout the continent. Europe must constitute but one great nation, and Paris must be the capital of the world."

Leaving Paris with the Empress, on the 9th of May, 1812, on his way to join the Grand Army, then forming on the Polish frontier, the Imperial pair seemed to be accompanied by a continued triumph. Ringing of bells, music, and the most enthusiastic greetings awaited them wherever they appeared; not merely in France, but throughout the whole of Germany. Passing through Metz, Mayence, and Frankfort, they arrived on the 17th at Dresden, which capital had been appointed by Napoleon as the rendezvous for the kings and princes in alliance with him. Among them were the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Kings of Saxony, Naples, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Westphalia, the Elector of Baden, and a troop of princes of inferior grade. It was a complete overflow of crowned heads in the capital of Saxony. Napoleon there held his "drawing-room of kings;" the various haughty rulers seemed to have met there in order to vie with each other in their adulation towards the head of the great empire.

"O ye," exclaims M. de Pradt, "who wish to form a just idea of the pre-eminence exercised by Napoleon in Europe, transport yourselves in imagination to Dresden, and there contemplate him at the period of his highest glory, so nearly bordering on his fall! The

Emperor occupied the grand apartments of the palace, whither he had transferred a considerable portion of his household. There he gave grand dinners, and, with the exception of the first Sunday, when the King of Saxony had a gala, Napoleon's parties were always attended by the assembled sovereigns and their families, agreeably to invitations issued by the Grand-Marshal. The Emperor's levées were held here, as at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. Then with what timid submission did crowds of princes, mingling with the courtiers, and



often scarcely perceived among them, anxiously await the moment for presenting themselves before the arbiter of their destinies.

"Napoleon was there the king of kings. On him were turned the regards of all men. The throng of strangers, of military men and couriers, the arrival and departure of couriers, the crowd constantly gathered round the gates of the palace to catch a glimpse of the great man, or following his footsteps, watching his looks, and listening with awe to his lightest words,—form a picture the most sublime and magnificent that could be dedicated to the memory of Napoleon."

Before leaving the gay court of Dresden, the Emperor despatched the Court de Narbonne to Alexander to make a fresh attempt at negotiation, in order to spare the shedding of more blood. On his return, Narbonne stated that "he had found the Russians neither depressed nor boasting; that the result of all the replies of

the Emperor was,—that they preferred war to a disgraceful peace; that they would take special care not to risk a battle with an adversary so formidable; and, finally, that they were determined to make every sacrifice to protract the war, and drive back the invader."

Leaving Dantzic on the 11th of June, the Emperor arrived on the 12th at Königsberg, where he inspected, for the last time, his immense stores for supplying the army during its advance into the barren country about to be invaded. The active and ardent mind of Napoleon was for some days intent on naught save these important particulars. "The day," says Segur, "was passed in receiving instructions on questions of subsistence and discipline; and the night in repeating them. One General received in a single day six dispatches from him, all expressive of his anxious solicitude. In one of these, he says—'The result of all my movements will be the concentration of four hundred thousand men upon one point: nothing can then be expected from the country; and consequently we must carry everything with us.'"

From Königsberg to Gumbinnen, Napoleon passed in review several divisions, talking to the men with gaiety, frankness, and a soldier-like bluntness. As his custom was, he walked leisurely along the ranks. He knew the wars in which every regiment had been engaged with him. He stopped for a few moments before some of the oldest soldiers; to one he recalled the battle of the Pyramids, to another that of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, or Friedland, by a single word accompanied with the most familiar address. The veterans thus recognised by their Emperor, felt elated before their junior comrades, who looked up to them with admiration and envy. Napoleon continued his round. He did not neglect the young: he shewed an interest in all that concerned them, and was well acquainted with their smallest wants. This individual attention to the soldiers absolutely charmed them. They remarked to each other that their great Emperor, who decided on the fate of kingdoms in a map, descended in respect to themselves into the most minute particulars: that they were his old, his genuine family. It was thus that he attached them to war, to glory, and to himself.

The army now proceeded from the Vistula towards the Niemen. That river, from Grodno as far as Kowno, flows parallel with the Vistula. The river Pregel runs from one to the other: it was covered with boats and provisions. Two hundred thousand men arrived there from four different points.

Napoleon made one more final effort to conciliate Alexander, and with this view sent Count Lauriston to the Czar, who, however, refused to give the envoy an audience. On learning this, Napoleon immediately gave orders to march towards the Niemen, and issued the following proclamation from the head-quarters at Wilkowsky:—

“Soldiers, the second Polish war has commenced. The first was concluded at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She has openly violated her oath; she refuses to give an explanation of her strange conduct till the French eagles shall have repassed the Rhine, and consequently left our allies at her discretion. Russia is driven onwards by fatality; her destiny is about to be accomplished. Does she believe that we have degenerated? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She has placed us between dishonour and war; the choice cannot for an instant be doubtful! Let us then march forward, cross the Niemen, and carry war into her territories. The second Polish war will be as glorious to the French arms as the first; but the peace which we shall conclude must carry with it its own guarantees, and put an end to that fatal influence which for the last fifty years Russia has exercised over the affairs of Europe.”

The Grand Army, which consisted of upwards of four hundred thousand men, now moved forward, divided into thirteen corps, besides the Imperial Guard, and certain chosen troops. The first division was headed by Davoust; the second by Oudinot; the third by Ney; the fourth by Prince Eugene; the fifth by Poniatowski; the sixth by Gouvion St. Cyr; the seventh by Reynier; the eighth by Jerome Bonaparte; the ninth by Victor; the tenth by Macdonald; the eleventh by Augereau; the twelfth by Murat: and the thirteenth by Prince Schwartzenburg. The Guard was commanded by Bessières, Le Febvre, and Mortier.

On the 23rd of June, long before day-break, the French army approached the Niemen; the Emperor rode forward at two o'clock in the morning to reconnoitre, accompanied only by General Haxo, and escaped observation by wearing a Polish cloak and bonnet. After a minute investigation, he discovered a spot near the village of Poinemin, above Kowno, suitable for the passage of the troops, and gave orders for three bridges to be thrown across at nightfall. The first who crossed the river were a few sappers in a boat. All was deserted and silent on the foreign soil, and no one appeared to oppose their proceedings, with the exception of a single armed Cossack, who asked, with an appearance of surprise, who they were, and what they wanted? The sappers replied,—“Frenchmen;” and one of them added, “come to make war upon your Emperor; to take Wilna; and deliver Poland.” The patrol withdrew, and three French soldiers discharged their pieces into the gloomy depths of the woods where they had lost sight of him, in token of hostility.

Three hundred voltigeurs were next immediately sent across to protect the erection of the three bridges; and two hours after dusk, the passage of the troops commenced. The next day, at sun-rise, the Emperor crossed among the first, and took his station near the bridges, to encourage the men by his presence and exhortations.

They saluted him as usual. Owing to his previous exertions and want of rest, or from the excessive heat of the day, he appeared depressed, but presently a re-action took place, and with fierce impatience he set spurs to his horse, and dashed into the country, "as if," says Segur, "he were on fire to come in contact with the enemy alone." In the course of the morning a violent storm arose; the lightning flamed above their heads; they were drenched with the rain; and the late oppressive heat of the atmosphere was suddenly changed to a bitter chilliness."



The passage of the troops was impeded for a time; for the bridge over the Vilia, a stream running into the Niemen, had been broken down by the Russians. The Emperor, however, despising this obstacle, ordered a Polish squadron of horse to swim the river. They instantly obeyed; but on reaching the middle, the current proved too strong for them, broke their ranks, and swept away and engulfed many of them. Even during their last struggles, the brave fellows turned their faces to the shore where Napoleon was watching their unavailing efforts with the deepest emotion, and shouted with their dying breath, "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Having at length crossed the Niemen, a task which occupied three days, he advanced on the 27th to Wilna, without encountering, or even catching sight of any enemy; and made preparations for an immediate attack; to his surprise, however, he discovered, that Alexander, hearing of the rapid advance of the French, had abandoned the place with his army, first destroying all the provisions and stores to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands. On the 28th, therefore, Napoleon entered Wilna, amid the fervent acclamations of a people who regarded him as their liberator.

Soon after the arrival of Napoleon at Wilna, from which place the Russians had retired, the Diet at Warsaw having constituted itself in a general confederation, and named Prince Adam Czartoriski for

its present, their first act was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation waited upon Napoleon at Wilna, and submitted the act to his approbation. The object and design of this address was to secure Napoleon's acquiescence in the steps they had taken, and they assured him "that there are sixteen millions of Poles, among whom there is not one whose arm, whose fortune, is not devoted to your Majesty. Say Sire, the kingdom of Poland exists, and that decree will to the world be equivalent to the reality!"

The head-quarters of the French army were established at Wilna for eighteen days, during which time Napoleon occupied himself in repairing the mischiefs which had occurred in his army in consequence of the deficiency of his commissariat. The French troops had been accustomed in their previous campaigns to levy contributions on the various countries which had been the seat of war; and now that they were burdened with the conveyance of their own supplies, the want of experience produced innumerable blunders and delays. A sudden change in the weather, and heavy rains that continued four days successively, rendered the roads impassable. The French army, that had already lost a great number of horses before their arrival at the Niemen, now lost a greater number, especially draught horses, and those belonging to the artillery. This necessarily retarding the march of the convoys, want, for the first time, was now beginning to be felt. Previous to the commencement of the campaign every corps had been abundantly supplied. Immense and almost innumerable magazines had been established between Dantzic and Warsaw; but at present the army was reduced to what the country afforded, and to such magazines as the enemy had left undestroyed for want of opportunity. As it was part of the Russian system to destroy everything they could not carry off, the resources of the French were soon reduced to very little. The few magazines which the enemy neglected to destroy, generally fell into the hands of the first corps that happened to seize them, and thus became a prey to waste and disorder. On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions under him, came up with the enemy within two leagues of Ostrowno. The battle commenced; the Russian calvary, a part of which belonged to the guard, was overthrown. The enemy's batteries were carried by the French cavalry, and the Russian infantry that advanced to support their artillery, was broken and sabred, and the enemy compelled to retire, after sustaining a considerable loss, leaving eight pieces of cannon and six hundred prisoners in the hands of the victors. On the 26th, in the morning, the army continuing to advance, another obstinate combat took place a league beyond Ostrowno, where the French advance guard defeated the corps of Osterman. The Russians retreated in the direction of Smolensk. On the 28th the French occupied Vitepsk, where they halted several days.

Napoleon quitted Vitepsk on the 8th of August, and after a partial engagement at Krasnoi on the 14th, came in sight of Smolensk on the 16th. The first and second armies of the Czar, (Bagrathion having at length effected his junction with Barclay) lay behind the river which flows at the back of this town; but it was occupied in great force. Three times did Napoleon attack it, and three times he was repulsed. During the night the garrison withdrew, and joined the army across the river; but before they went, they committed the city to the flames, and the buildings being chiefly of wood, the conflagration, according to the French bulletin, "resembled in its fury an eruption of Vesuvius. Never," continues the same bulletin, "was war conducted with such inhumanity: the Russians track their own country as if it were that of an enemy." Such was indeed their resolution; they had no desire that the invader should establish himself in winter quarters at Smolensk. With the exception of some trivial skirmishes, they retreated unmolested from Smolensk to Dorogobuz, and thence on Viazma; halting at each of these towns, and deliberately burning them in the face of the enemy.

After traversing the town and examining the outworks and fortified



posts whence his intrepid phalanxes had dislodged the Russians, Napoleon wished to reconnoitre for himself the new position of the enemy beyond the Borysthenes. To effect this, he ascended an

ancient tower, from an embrasure of which he sought, on the heights which command Smolensk, the camps of Barclay and Bagrathion. Both these generals were, however, in full retreat; the former having taken the road to St. Petersburg, the latter that towards Moscow. The voluntary separation of the two Russian armies, which had been at such pains and had sacrificed so much in order to effect their junction, appeared to Napoleon merely a feint. His couriers soon informed him that he was not deceived in his conjectures, and that Barclay, ceasing to march northwards, was actually approaching Bagrathion in the direction of Moscow. He immediately ordered a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, hoping to come up and crush him, before he could reach his ancient capital. The honour of marching with the advance-guard, and striking the first blow, devolved upon Marshal Ney, who justified the confidence of Napoleon by the intelligence and bravery which he displayed at the battle of Valoutina.

This was a most sanguinary fight. Four times were the Russians driven from their positions, and on each occasion brought up reinforcements, and retook them; at length they were finally overthrown by the valourous Gudin, who charged at the head of his division, the vigour and impetuosity of which led the enemy to believe they were exposed to the shock of the Imperial guard. Thirty thousand men were brought into action on either side, and the slaughter was terrible. Much individual bravery was also displayed on this occasion. The Russian General, Touthkoff, was assailed in the midst of his own soldiers by a lieutenant of the 12th regiment, named Etienne, and compelled to give up his arms to this bold and valiant officer. The intrepid Gudin, who had performed so prominent a part in the affair, payed for it with his life. He was conveyed, mortally wounded, to Smolensk, where he shortly afterwards expired.

The French now began to understand the system of warfare adopted by the half-civilized races whose territory they had invaded. As they retreated, everything was laid waste before them and burnt, in addition to which, after firing their towns and villages, breaking down their bridges, and destroying their corn and hay, they represented these unwarrantable acts as those of the French soldiery.

Alexander, meanwhile, had quitted the camp at Drissa to hasten to Moscow, and learn the disposition of his subjects. All Russia was by this time aroused. In former campaigns her soldiers had always been represented as victorious. According to the official bulletins issued by the Czar, the "Children of the Revolution" had been forced to yield to the superior skill and bravery of the "Loyal Armies of the North." Nothing could exceed the astonishment of all classes on learning that Napoleon had dared to invade Russia, which bold attempt they considered made in order to retrieve former disgraces. Count Rostopchin, the governor of the city, had assembled the nobles and merchants at the Kremlin, in order to demand of them fresh

sacrifices of men and money. In stirring language he depicted to them the enemy in the heart of the state, and represented Napoleon as an exterminating tyrant come to ravage their country, destroy their national independence, and overthrow their religion. This was sufficient to devote the conquerer to the execration of the nobles and the Muscovite citizens. The vehement elocution of Rostopchin was received with the most unanimous acclamations. At the moment when Rostopchin appeared to have raised the enthusiasm of the assembly to the highest pitch, Alexander suddenly entered through a door of the palace-chapel, and, in his turn, spoke energetically of the country and its religion, placed on the brink of an abyss by the insatiable ambition of the universal tyrant. "The disasters with which your are threatened," said he in conclusion, "can only be regarded as the necessary means to consummate the ruin of the enemy."

Segur's account of this meeting is the description of a mad rabble rather than of sages and patriots. The glaring eyes, convulsed features, clenched fists, foaming lips, gnashing teeth, and ferocious curses and imprecations of the assembly showed how deeply all were excited. The object of the Czar was accomplished. When he had finished speaking, a general exclamation arose, "Demand all! we offer all! accept all!" The nobles unanimously offered to recruit the army with ten out of every hundred of their serfs—some even agreeing to arm and equip them at their own expense. The merchants voluntarily imposed upon themselves contributions amounting, in several instances, to half their fortunes; and the inhabitants of Moscow undertook to raise and equip an army of eighty thousand men. It may be doubted, nevertheless, whether the frenzy of the Russians would have been sufficient to induce them to consent to the suicidal destruction of the holy city, which, from Alexander's obscure hints at "the means of consummating the ruin of the enemy," appears to have been already contemplated. Their treasures and slaves were nothing in comparison with their household hearths, their national superstition, and their reverence for "Mother Moscow," which contained the relics of their saints, and the tombs of their forefathers. Rostopchin thoroughly understood this; for while he diligently employed himself in collecting combustibles, and manufacturing various kinds of destructive fire-works to be used in the meditated conflagration, in order to deceive the people, he occupied a number of females in constructing large balloons, from which, he said, he intended to shower down fire upon the invaders.

From Moscow Alexander proceeded to St. Petersburg, whence he despatched old General Kutusoff to replace Barclay de Tolly, as commander-in-chief of his forces, "thinking," says Colonel Butturlin, a Russian author, "that it was requisite to have a Russian name at the head of the army, in order to nationalize the war." Barclay de Tolly

was a German by birth, of Scottish extraction, and although in the confidence of Alexander, was not liked by the Russian generals. As an indemnification he was appointed minister of war at St. Petersburg.

In the meantime, Napoleon, after a short rest at Smolensk, pushed forward, the Russians still retreating, and destroying everything available for food or shelter. On the 28th of August, the enemy was overtaken by the French advanced guard, who drove them at once to Viazma, which was set fire to and abandoned. On the 1st of September, Murat took possession of Gjatzen, which was only partially burnt, the Russians having been too closely pursued to be enabled to complete their work of destruction.

When Kutusoff reached the Russian army, Barclay had taken up a position between Viazma and Gjatzen, and made preparations for a battle on the ensuing day. The old warrior would not allow it to be believed that the superseded General had well chosen his ground, and the Russians, therefore, still retired at the approach of the French. They at length halted on the 5th, when they were discovered strongly posted between the Kalouga and the Moskwa, with several well constructed field-works and batteries to protect them in front and on their flanks. A redoubt had been erected to guard the high-road to Moscow; which Napoleon immediately ordered the corps of Davoust and General Compans' division to take. This was effected at the bayonet's point, through not without great slaughter on both sides.

On the eve of, and before day-break on the 6th, the Emperor was on horseback, wrapped in his grey coat, and exhibiting all the alacrity of his younger days. He was accompanied by Rapp and Caulaincourt, the brother of the well-known diplomatist, and followed at some distance by a few chasseurs of the guard. Kutusoff, he observed, was strongly posted, and had covered the whole of his line with redoubts and entrenchments. On his return to head-quarters, he found just arrived with despatches, Colonel Fabvier, the aide-de-camp of Marshal Marmont, whose defeat had delivered Salamanca into the hands of Wellington. The Colonel generously defended his leader, against whom Napoleon was much embittered.

On the 7th, at two o'clock in the morning, the Emperor was surrounded by his Marshals in the position taken up on the preceding evening. At half-past five, the sun rose unobscured by a cloud: "It is the sun of Austerlitz," said the Emperor. Although in the month of September, it was as cold as the month of December in Moravia. The army, nevertheless, regarded it as a fortunate omen. The Emperor had short leisure to meditate on his awful situation. "He saw," says General Count Segur, "that the two armies were equal; about 120,000 men, and six hundred pieces of cannon on either side. The Russians had the advantage of ground, of speaking but one language, of one uniform, of being a single nation, fighting for the same cause, but a great number of them being irregular troops and

recruits. The French had as many men, but more soldiers; for the state of his corps had just been submitted to him; he had before his eyes an account of the strength of his divisions, and as it was neither a review, nor a distribution, but a battle that was in prospect, this time the statements were not exaggerated. His army was reduced, indeed, but sound, supple, nervous—like those manly bodies, which, having just lost the plumpness of youth, display forms more masculine and strongly marked.”

The following narrative of the terrible battle of Borodino, or Moskwa as it is sometimes called, is quoted chiefly from the bulletin of the Grand Army.

“Prince Poniatowski, who formed the right, set himself in motion in order to turn the forest which supported the left of the enemy. The prince of Eckmuhl commenced his march by the side of the forest, led on by the division Compans. The batteries of sixty pieces of cannon each, commanding the position of the enemy, had been constructed during the night. At six o'clock, General Count Sorbier, who had mounted the right battery with the artillery of the reserve of the guard, opened fire. General Pernetty, with thirty pieces of cannon, placed himself at the head of the division Compans (fourth of the first corps), which was marching by the wood to turn the position of the enemy. At half-past six o'clock, General Compans was wounded. At seven o'clock the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed under him. The attack was becoming general, and the musketry had commenced. The viceroy Eugene, forming the left, attacked and took the village of Borodino, which the enemy were unable to defend, it being on the left bank of the Kologha. The bridge had also been taken, and should have been destroyed; but, carried away by the ardour of success, the 106th regiment had crossed that passage in spite of the cries of its general, in order to attack the heights of Gorecki, where it was overwhelmed by the front and flank fires of the Russians. It was reported that the general who commanded that brigade had been killed, and that the 106th regiment would have been entirely destroyed, had it not been for the 92nd, which voluntarily ran up to its assistance; and collected and brought back the survivors. At seven o'clock, also, the Marshal Duke of Elchingen moved forward, and, under cover of sixty pieces of cannon which General Foucher had pointed during the night against the centre of the enemy, marched to the attack. A thousand pieces vomited death on either side. At eight o'clock, the enemy's positions were carried, his redoubts taken, and the French artillery crowning their ramparts.

“The advantage of position which the enemy's batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to us. The enemy beheld the battle lost, which he thought had scarcely commenced. The parapets which were opposed to the French during the attack, were now in

their favour. Part of the Russian artillery was taken, and the remainder incapable of being brought into operation. In this extremity, they endeavoured to regain their advantage by attacking with all their immense masses, the strong positions which they were unable to keep. Three hundred pieces of French cannon, placed on the heights, crushed the advancing foe, and the Russian soldiers came to expire at the foot of those parapets which they had raised on the preceding days with so much care, hoping they would serve as a bulwark to protect them from the enemy's fire.

"The enemy still had his redoubts on the right. General Count Morand marched in order to take them; but at nine o'clock in the morning, attacked on all sides, he was unable to maintain himself. The enemy, encouraged by this success, brought forward his reserves, in order to again try his fortune. The Imperial guard formed part of it, and attacked our centre, on which the right pivoted. For a moment it was feared that he would carry the burnt village. The division Friant marched to its support. Eight French pieces at first arrested and afterwards crushed the hostile columns, which maintained themselves for two hours exposed to the iron shower, not daring to advance, nor willing to draw back and renounce the hope of victory. The King of Naples decided their uncertainty; he ordered the forth corps of the cavalry to charge, which penetrated through the breaches which the fire of our cannon had made in the close masses of the Russians, and the squadrons of their cuirassiers; they disbanded on all sides. The General of division, Count Caulaincourt, placed himself at the head of the 5th cuirassiers, overthrew everything, and entered the redoubt on the left, in spite of the most vigorous opposition. From that moment there could be no further doubt—the battle was gained; the one and twenty pieces found within the redoubt were turned against the enemy. Count Caulaincourt, who had just distinguished himself by this fine charge, had terminated his services. He fell dead, struck by a bullet; a glorious and enviable death.

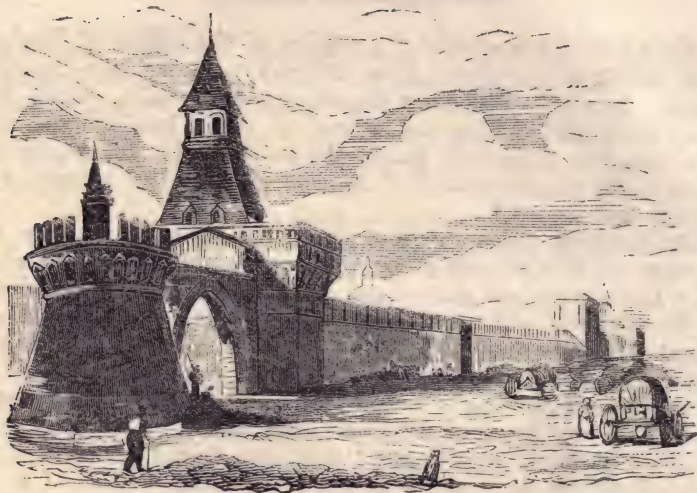
"By two o'clock in the afternoon, all hope had abandoned the enemy: the battle was at an end, although the cannonade was not yet discontinued; the Russians fought for their retreat and safety, but no longer for the victory. The enemy's loss was enormous: from twelve to thirteen thousand men, and between eight and nine thousand horses were counted on the field of battle; sixty pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners remained in our hands. We have had two thousand five hundred men killed, and three times the number wounded. Our total loss may be set down at ten thousand men: that of the enemy at forty or fifty thousand. A like field of battle was never seen. Out of six corpses there will be about one French to five Russians. Forty Russian generals have been killed, wounded or taken; General Bagrathion received a wound.

“Such is in a few words the outline of the battle of Moskwa, fought about two leagues from Mojaïsk, and twenty-five from Moscow. We have fired sixty thousand cannon balls, which have already been replaced by the arrival of eight hundred carriages which had left Smolensk before the battle. All the woods and villages in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, are covered with the dead and wounded.

“The Emperor was not once exposed; the guard, both horse and foot, were not brought into action, and consequently lost not a single man. The victory was at no time doubtful. If the enemy, driven from his positions, had not wished to retake them, our loss would have been much greater than his; but he destroyed his army by exposing it from eight o'clock until two to the fire of our batteries; and by obstinately endeavouring to retake that which he had been forced to yield. This was the cause of his immense loss.”

“However great,” says Segur, “may have been the success of this day, it might have been still more so, if Napoleon, instead of finishing the battle at four o'clock in the afternoon, had profited by the remainder of the day to bring his guard into the field, and thus changed the defeat of the enemy into a complete rout. This hesitation of the great captain, in the midst of the intoxication of victory, has been variously interpreted. Some writers assure us that it was severely censured at the time at head-quarters, and affirm Marshal Ney to have said: ‘Are we then come so far to be satisfied with a field of battle? What business has the Emperor in the rear of the army? There, he is only in reach of reverses, and not of victory. Since he will no longer make war himself, since he is no longer the general, as he wishes to be the Emperor every where, let him return to the Tuileries, and leave us to be generals for him.’ Murat was more calm; he recollected having seen the Emperor the day before, as he was riding along observing part of the enemy’s line, halt several times, dismount, and with his head resting upon a cannon, remain there some time in the attitude of suffering. He knew what a restless night he had passed, and that a violent and incessant cough cut short his breathing. The king guessed that fatigue, and the first attack of the equinox, had shaken his weakened frame, and that, in short, at that critical moment, the action of his genius was in a manner chained down by his body. The better informed, however, thought very differently. Their idea was, that at that distance, and at the head of an army of foreigners, who had no other bond of union but victory, he had judged it indispensable to preserve a select and devoted body.”





CHAPTER XXVII.

RETREAT OF KUTUSOFF.—OCCUPATION OF MOSCOW BY THE FRENCH.—BURNING OF THE CITY.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH RETREAT.—MALO-JAROSLAWETZ.—CONSPIRACY OF MALLET.—SUFFERINGS OF THE FRENCH.—PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS. 1812.



NOTWITHSTANDING his disastrous defeat, Kutusoff resolved to give battle on the following day; and endeavoured to take up a new position at Mojaisk. He was, however, so closely pursued, that his rear-guard was overtaken, and driven, with considerable slaughter, from a village where it was endeavouring to establish itself. On the morning of the 9th of September, Mojaisk was attacked; when the Russians, finding themselves unable to defend the town, set

fire to the place and precipitately retired, leaving their wounded to the care of their enemies. On the 13th the Russian army reached Fili, a position a little in advance of Moscow; but, although joined there by large numbers of the inhabitants of the capital, armed with pitchforks, scythes, hatchets, and all kinds of implements that could be used as weapons of destruction, it was determined to abandon Moscow to the invaders.

During the night of the 13th and 14th September, Kutusoff abandoned all his positions in advance of Moscow, and withdrew in

a westerly direction, rapidly traversing the immense city, which formerly he had seemed resolved to defend with a sort of fanaticism. "On the 14th September," says Butturlin, a Muscovite writer, "a day of everlasting regret to hearts truly Russian, the army raised the camp of Fili, at three o'clock in the morning, and entered the town, by the barrier of Dorogomilow, which it crossed, and left by the barrier of Kolomma. . . . Moscow presented a most mournful aspect. The march of the Russian army had rather the air of a funeral procession than of a military march. Both officers and soldiers wept with rage and despair."

The French, however, on seeing the camp of Fili so unexpectedly raised, hastened in pursuit of the Russians. Murat, the impetuous Murat, always in quest of peril, and the foremost to attack, was the first to be on the enemy's footsteps. At noon he was already in the streets of Moscow, having with him but a few cavaliers, and precipitating himself, nevertheless, head-foremost on the rear-guard of Kutusoff. His escort soon increased, Napoleon having sent Gourgaud to support him. The Cossacks then hailed and surrounded the adventurous warrior, the richness of whose dress and whose astonishing bravery they admired at the same time. Murat, who was very well known amongst them, especially since Tilsit, where he had made them some presents, could not be less generous on this new



occasion. He gave his watch to their leader, and disposed even of Gourgaud's, as well as of the trinkets of his officers, in order to distribute them among the barbarians who surrounded him, and who,

once possessed of these dazzling presents, hastened to evacuate Moscow, and resume their irregular skirmishing and manœuvres in the rear of the Russian army.

Whilst the Cossacks retired, Napoleon, with the remainder of his advanced-guard, arrived at the gates of the city. The hurried departure of Kutusoff, after so many demonstrations and threats of resistance; the abandonment of a city which served as a warehouse for the riches of Europe and Asia; the destruction of Smolensk, and the smoking vestiges of so many disasters, accumulated over the finest provinces of Russia by Russian hands, all inspired the Emperor with distrust, and made him hesitate. At first he halted at the barrier, and had the exterior of the city reconnoitred: Eugene was ordered to surround it on the north, and Poniatowski to embrace the south, whilst Davoust remained near the centre. The guard was then ordered to march, and, under the command of Lefebvre, triumphantly entered Moscow, and prepared to establish itself at the Kremlin.

Napoleon now crossed the barrier in his turn. But, as if some inward voice had warned him that he trod on an abyss, and that Moscow enclosed within its walls the term of the successes of the French army and the first sign of the decay of the great empire, he still feared to advance into the town, marched only a few steps, and took up a temporary abode at an inn in the suburbs. On the next day, the 15th, no alarming symptom having appeared, the presentiments and fears which had beset him on the preceding day were quieted; and, confidently entrusting himself to his fate and to the fortune of France, which he believed to be identified, marched boldly to the Kremlin, and there installed himself.

Quartered in Moscow, the Emperor immediately wrote to Alexander proposing terms of peace. In his letter, he assured the Czar, "that whatever might be the vicissitudes of war, nothing could diminish the esteem entertained for him by his friend of Tilsit and Erfurt." The Emperor Alexander, however, would not hear of negotiations, and he who had been accustomed to receive propositions from his vanquished enemies, now found his own rejected for the first time.

Ere long the purpose of the Russians became apparent. They had resolved to destroy their ancient city, rather than it should afford shelter to their enemies. The following account of the burning of Moscow is by an eye-witness:—"Some slight conflagrations had broken out on our first arrival, which we had attributed to the imprudence of the troops. But on the 16th, the wind having reached a considerable height, the flames became general. A great portion of the town was of wood, and contained large stores of brandy, oil, and combustible matter. All the pumps had been destroyed, and the exertions of our men were almost useless. Black columns of smoke rose high in the air, from the eastern quarter, and spread themselves

over the town, diffusing everywhere a frightful odour of sulphur and bitumen. The flames followed hard upon this, advancing from house to house, increased by everything they devoured, and in a river of fire, ran from one extremity of the town to the other. Whilst these first outbreaks of the conflagration pursued their formidable course, fresh furnaces were lighted, and additional torrents of flame were let loose, which, urged by the wind, plunged across intervals which the preceding waves had been unable to attain. One would have said that the earth had yawned in order to furnish all the fires which burst forth! the flames spread with the greatest fury, and had no longer either direction or limits, roaring and boiling like the waves in a storm, and the unfortunate city was soon engulfed in an ocean of flame!

“Most of us imagined that want of discipline in our troops, and intoxication had begun the disaster, and that the high wind had completed it. Filled with consternation by so tremendous a catastrophe, we accosted each other with down-cast looks: it sullied our glory; it deprived us of the fruits of it; it threatened our present and our future existence; we were now but an army of criminals, whom Heaven and the civilized world would severely judge. From these overwhelming thoughts and paroxysms of rage against the incendiaries, we were roused only by an eagerness to obtain intelligence; and all the accounts now began to accuse the Russians alone of this disaster. In fact, officers arrived from all quarters, and they all agreed. The very first night, that of the 14th, a fire-balloon had settled on the palace of the Prince Trubetskoi, and consumed it. This was a signal. Fire had been immediately set to the Exchange: Russian police-soldiers had been seen stirring it up with tarred lances. Here howitzer shells, perfidiously placed, had discharged themselves in the stoves of several houses, and wounded the military who crowded round them. Retiring to other quarters which were still standing, they sought fresh retreats; but when they were on the point of entering houses closely shut up and uninhabited, they had heard faint explosions within; these were succeeded by a light smoke, which immediately became thick and black, then reddish, and lastly the colour of fire, and presently the whole edifice was involved in flames.

“All had seen hideous looking men, covered with rags, and women resembling furies, wandering among these flames, and completing a frightful image of the infernal regions. These wretches, intoxicated with wine, and the success of their crimes, no longer took any pains to conceal themselves; they proceeded in triumph through the blazing streets. Many were caught, armed with torches, assiduously striving to spread the conflagration; it was necessary to strike down their hands with sabres to oblige them to loose their hold. These banditti, it was said, had been released from prison by the

Russian generals for the purpose of burning Moscow. Orders were immediately issued to shoot all the incendiaries on the spot. The army was on foot. The old guard, which exclusively occupied one part of the Kremlin, was under arms: the baggage, and the horses ready loaded, filled the courts. We were struck dumb with astonishment, fatigue, and disappointment, on witnessing the destruction of such excellent quarters. Though masters of Moscow, we were forced to go and bivouac without provisions outside its gates. In lieu of the numerous mansions and palaces, there remained standing naught save masses of brick which marked the places of the domestic hearths. These scorched and blackened ruins appeared to us but as the burnt skeleton of Moscow. About four o'clock in the morning, one of the Emperor's officers awoke him, to inform him of the conflagration. the monarch had thrown himself on the bed only a few minutes before, after having dictated orders to the various corps of his army, and laboured with his secretaries.

“ From the windows of the Kremlin, Napoleon had beneath his eye this grand catastrophe. . . . Scipio, regarding the burning of Carthage,



could not repress a sad presentiment of the fate which Rome would suffer in her turn. Napoleon remained pensive, the whole army was plunged in a state of stupor. The mournful silence which prevailed at the Kremlin was only interrupted by such exclamations as : ‘ This

is then how they make war ! 'The civilization of St. Petersburg has deceived us ; they are indeed Scythians !'

"Napoleon now saw what the Russians would do. Instead of ambassadors or negociators coming to him to sue for peace, he found, in Moscow, incendiaries who enveloped him in a vast conflagration which surrounded him with ruins. He might say with Madame de Stael, "that no civilized nation contained so many savages as the Russian people." The agents of Rostopchin, to the number of nine hundred, had been posted in cellars in order to set fire to all parts at once. Some of them were surprised torch in hand, who confessed, and their declaration accused Rostopchin, who himself cannot have acted without the authority of his master, for what subject of the autocrat would have taken upon himself the responsibility of so great a disaster.

"The flames, however, approached the vicinity of the Kremlin; the glass of the windows of the Imperial palace was broken, it was time for Napoleon to provide for his safety, and decide upon his retreat. Nevertheless, he persisted in refusing. It was a first retrograde step that was asked of him; he felt this, and would not give way before the barbarism which he had vanquished a score of times, which he had compelled to fly before him for a distance of two hundred leagues, and across the finest provinces of the Russian empire. In vain were the flakes of fire which fell in the yard of the arsenal pointed out to him, and which already strewed the ground where the artillery was stationed, with its ammunition; in vain was he assured that the artillerymen were troubled for their personal safety, and that the greatest alarm prevailed throughout head-quarters; he resisted all counsel, all representations. Lariboissière, Le Febvre, Bessières, Eugene, came to endeavour in their turn, by their pressing solicitations, to induce him to retire from a danger which became each moment more imminent.

"Napoleon was at length prevailed on to remove by an observation from Berthier. 'Sire,' said he, 'if the enemy should attack those French corps which are out of Moscow, your Majesty has no means of communicating with them.' This decided Napoleon. He hastily descended the northern staircase, famous for the massacre of the Strelitzes, and desired to be conducted out of the city, to the distance of a league on the road to St. Petersburg, towards the Imperial palace of Petrowskoi.

"But we were besieged by an ocean of fire, which blocked up all the gates of the citadel, and frustrated the first attempts that were made to depart. After some search we discovered a postern-gate leading between the rocks to the Moskwa. It was by this narrow passage that Napoleon, his officers and guard escaped from the Kremlin. But what had they gained by this movement? They had approached nearer to the fire, and could neither retreat nor remain

where they were; and how were they to advance? how force a passage through the billows of this sea of flame? Those who had traversed the city, stunned by the tempest, and blinded by the ashes, could not find their way, since the streets themselves were no longer distinguishable amidst the smoke and ruins.

"There was no time to be lost. The roaring of the flames around us became every moment more violent. A single narrow, winding street, completely on fire, appeared to be rather the entrance than the outlet to this hell. The Emperor rushed on foot and without hesitation into this narrow passage. He advanced amid the crackling of the flames, the crash of floors, and the fall of burning timbers, and of the red-hot iron roofs which tumbled about him. These ruins impeded his progress. The flames, which, with impetuous roar, consumed the edifices between which we were proceeding, spreading beyond the walls, were blown out by the wind, and formed an arch over our heads. We walked on a ground of fire, beneath a fiery sky, and between two walls of fire. The intense heat burnt our eyes, which we were nevertheless obliged to keep open and fixed on the danger. A consuming atmosphere, glowing ashes, detached flames, parched our throats, and rendered our respiration short and dry; and we were already almost suffocated by the smoke. Our hands were burnt, either in endeavouring to protect our faces from the insupportable heat, or in brushing off the sparks which every moment covered and penetrated our garments.

"In this inexpressible distress, and when a rapid advance seemed to be our only means of safety, our guide stopped in uncertainty and agitation. Here would probably have terminated our adventurous career, had not some pillagers of the first corps recognised the Emperor amid the whirling flames; they ran up and guided him towards the smoking ruins of a quarter which had been reduced to ashes in the morning. It was then that we met the Prince of Eckmühl. This marshal, who had been wounded at the Moskwa, had desired to be carried back among the flames to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him. He threw himself into his arms with transport; the Emperor received him kindly, but with a composure which in danger he never lost for a moment."

It was in the afternoon of the 16th of September that Napoleon left Moscow, and before nightfall he had reached Petrowskoi. Throughout the 18th and 19th of September the conflagration raged with unabated fury, when it slackened for want of fuel. A portion of the Kremlin, a few palaces, and all the stone buildings remained standing. All else was a confused mass of ruins. So sudden was the departure of the nobility, that the French officers on their entrance found even the jewels of the ladies left behind. The destruction of property and life was enormous, the latter two horrible to dwell upon. The Emperor returned to the Kremlin on the 28th, and passed through

the camps of his army, which exhibited a most singular appearance. "They were," says Segur, "situated in the midst of fields, in a thick and cold mire; and contained immense fires fed by rich mahogany furniture and gilded sashes and doors. Around these fires, with a litter of damp straw, sheltered only by a few miserable planks fastened together, his soldiers with their officers were to be seen splashed with dirt, and stained with smoke, seated upon superb arm-chairs, or reclining on sofas covered with silk. At their feet, carelessly opened or thrown in heaps, lay Cashmere shawls, the finest furs of Siberia, the gold stuffs of Persia, and plates of solid silver, from which they had nothing to eat but a black dough, baked in ashes, and half-broiled and bloody steaks of horse-flesh."

Napoleon now thought it advisable to make another attempt at negotiation; and accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Alexander, through the medium of one M. Jakowleff, who left on the 24th of September for St. Petersburg. On the 4th of October, he decided upon taking an official step in support of his secret attempts, by sending his aide-de-camp, Lauriston, to Kutusoff's head-quarters. But the latter declared that he could not enter upon negotiations without having received the authorization of his master. For this purpose he despatched Prince Wolkonski to the Czar. During these preparatory steps, which occupied much time, the resources which the fire had spared became exhausted, and the inclement season approached without any negotiations having been opened. On the 13th of October there was a sudden and heavy fall of snow. Napoleon looked around him in dismay at the sight, and thenceforth thought only of retreat. "In the course of twenty days," he said, "it will be necessary for us to be in winter quarters." Preparations were accordingly made for departure,—but leisurely, so as not to spread alarm in the army. The sick and wounded were first sent away, under a strong escort, to Smolensk. The pictures, images, and ornaments of the churches and palaces were then collected, and packed on waggons; and the gigantic cross which surmounted the tower of Ivan the Great, the tallest steeple in Moscow, was dismounted with great labour, and placed among the trophies intended to decorate Paris. The soldiers executed every order with alacrity; for they were told that the Emperor proposed to advance against Kutusoff, crush his force, and retire to Smolensk. The troops began their retreat on the 18th of October.

The army which marched out of Moscow numbered one hundred thousand men, with their arms and knapsacks; above five hundred field pieces, and two thousand artillery waggons; "there was a long train of trucks and wheel-barrows," says M. de Fain, "around which each company was grouped. Every means of conveyance which the city of Moscow and its environs could afford, had been seized upon. Every one had placed in them some special reserve of provisions or

clothing, sufficient as he thought to serve him to the end of the retreat. Women, children, some of them French, others German and even Russian, belonging to the population of Moscow, preferred departing with us to awaiting the return of the Cossacks to their city. These were placed along with the baggage."

The last columns of the French army quitted Moscow on the 23rd of October, at two o'clock in the morning. An hour after, the Kremlin was blown up. M. Ottone, a captain of naval artillery, was charged to place the lighted matches on the barrels. The explosion produced by a hundred and eighty thousand pounds of powder, destroyed, with the principal towers of the palace and arsenal, the bridge, and the depôt of muskets, and all the matériel of the Russian artillery.

Napoleon flattered himself with taking up his winter-quarters on the frontiers of Lithuania. "Towards the first week in November," he wrote to the Duke of Bassano, then at Wilna, "I shall have brought my troops to the square between Smolensk, Mohilow, Minsk, and Vitepsk. This new position will bring me at once nearer to St. Petersburg and Wilna, and on the opening of the next campaign, I shall find myself twenty marches nearer my aim. It is true, that in affairs of this nature, the event sometimes turns out differently from what has been foreseen."

Kutusoff, however, being informed of Napoleon's movements, hastened his march upon Malojaroslawetz, in order to cut off the French army. Prince Eugene had already taken up a position there, which when the Russian general perceived, he determined to profit by his numerical superiority, and immediately gave the signal for battle. This was on the morning of the 24th of October. The division Delzons was the first attacked; it resisted heroically, and lost, in the heat of the action, its intrepid general, who was immediately replaced by the major-general Guilleminot. The fight was maintained on both sides with such obstinacy, that the town was taken and retaken at least seven times. The Emperor, who had arrived, observed the whole from an eminence. The divisions Gerard and Compans coming up put an end to the fight. Kutusoff, despairing of gaining possession of Malojaroslawetz, and there establishing himself, fell back in order to cover the road to Kalouga, which he at first appeared resolved to close against the French, even at the risk of a fresh battle.

In the evening, Napoleon returned to his head-quarters at Gorodnia, where he was forced to lodge in a small cabin. Informed of the menacing attitude which Kutusoff appeared to maintain, and wishing to continue his march upon Kalouga, he decided to give battle again the next day and pass over the prostrate enemy. His generals, however, thought differently. The late battle had been so murderous, that Eugene and Davoust bivouacked on heaps of corpses, where

Malojaroslawetz had stood, which had been devoted to the flames, and no longer presented aught but ruins. Prudence counselled reaching winter-quarters as quickly as possible, and avoiding all risk of thinning the ranks of the army. Since the road to Smolensk, through Viasma, remained open, it was requisite instantly to take it, and leave the Russian general fruitlessly preparing to dispute that of Kalouga. Thus said those who surrounded Napoleon, who became indignant at such advice. "Give way before Kutusoff!" he exclaimed; "give way before the enemy when he has just been beaten, at the moment, perhaps, when he only awaits the signal for falling back himself!" The visit to the field of battle, however, confirmed the reports made to Napoleon. The Russians were throwing up redoubts, consequently their resolution of barring the passage against the French was finally determined on. On the other side, the blood of the soldier became each day more precious. Napoleon had the sorrowful evidence before him of the abundance in which it had flown on the field of Malojaroslawetz. Here was sufficient to make him yield to the counsels of those who pressed him to retire at once to Smolensk, by the uncontested way of Mojaïsk and Viasma. On the evening of the 29th, Napoleon reached Gjatzen, where he remained near upon four-and-twenty hours, and on the 31st entered Viasma, where letters from Paris and Wilna awaited him, as well as the reports of Marshals Victor and St. Cyr.

But a new and terrible enemy now descended, like an exterminating genii, on the French camp. It was during the night of the 5th of November that the snow set in. When day appeared, and the march had to be resumed, the horses were found frozen to death by thou-



sands, and a cold fog enveloped the whole army. "These fogs," writes Segur, "became thicker, and presently an immense cloud descended upon it in large flakes of snow. While the soldier was struggling with the tempest of wind and snow, the flakes, driven by the

storm, lodged and accumulated in every hollow : their surfaces concealed unknown abysses, which perfidiously opened beneath our feet. There the men were engulfed, and the weakest, resigning themselves to their fate, found a grave in these snow-pits.

“Those who followed turned aside, but the storm drove into their faces both the snow that was descending from the sky, and that which it raised from the ground ; it seemed bent on opposing their progress. The Russian winter, under this new form, attacked them on all sides : it penetrated their light garments, and their torn shoes and boots. Their wet clothes froze upon their bodies : an icy envelope encased them and stiffened all their limbs. A keen and violent wind impeded respiration ; it seized their breath at the moment when they exhaled it, and converted it into icicles, which hung from their beards all round their mouths.

“The unfortunate creatures still crawled on, shivering, till the snow, gathering like balls under their feet, or the fragment of some broken article, a branch of a tree, or the body of one of their comrades, caused them to stumble and fall. There they groaned in vain : the snow soon covered them ; slight hillocks marked the spot where they lay, such was their only grave ! The road was studded with these undulations like a cemetery. . . . In the frequent falls which they experienced, their arms dropped from their hands, and were broken or buried in the snow. If they rose again, it was without them, for they did not throw them away ; hunger and cold wrested them from their grasp. The fingers of many others were frozen to the muskets which they still held.

“We soon met with numbers of men belonging to all the corps, sometimes singly, at others in troops. They had not basely deserted their colours ; it was cold and inanimation which had separated them from their columns. Most of them, attracted by the sight of by-paths, dispersed themselves over the country, in hope of finding bread and shelter for the coming night ; but, on their first passage, all had been laid waste to the extent of seven or eight leagues. They met with nothing but Cossacks, and an armed population which encompassed, wounded, and stripped them naked, and then left them, with ferocious bursts of laughter, to expire on the snow.

“Night then came on, a night of sixteen hours ! But on that snow, which covered every thing, they knew not where to halt, where to sit, where to lie down, where to find some root or other to eat, and dry wood to kindle a fire ! Fatigue, darkness, and repeated orders, nevertheless, paralysed those whom their moral and physical strength, and the efforts of the officers, had kept together. They strove to establish themselves ; but the tempest, still active, dispersed the first preparations for bivouacs. The pines, laden with frost, obstinately resisted the flames. When, at length, fires were kindled, the officers and soldiers around them prepared their wretched repast ;

it consisted of lean and bloody pieces of flesh torn from the horses that were knocked up, and at most a few spoonfuls of rye-flour mixed with snow water. Next morning circular ranges of soldiers, extended lifeless, marked the bivouacs, and the ground about them was strewn with the bodies of horses." The Russians returned public thanksgivings to God and their saints for the early arrival of their potent ally—the frost, and offered prayers for its continuance.



As if the calamities under his eyes had not been sufficient, Napoleon now received news from Paris, that showed him more strongly than any former occurrence the instability of his power and dynasty. This related to a conspiracy formed by an officer named Mallet, to overturn the Imperial government, and re-establish that of the mob. "He was a man," says De Bourrienne, "without partisans, connexions, or character;" yet this person, by sheer audacity, and aided by improbable falsehoods only, was enabled to create a panic throughout France. On the night of the 22nd of October, Mallet, in full uniform as a general, with a corporal dressed as an aide-de-camp, presented himself at the gate of the Minims barracks, and having announced the death of the Emperor in a great battle in Russia, showed Colonel Soulie a pretended *Senatus Consultum*, which declared the abolition of the Imperial government. This officer, suspecting no imposition, immediately placed his corps at the disposal of the conspirators. With this troop, consisting of twelve hundred men, Mallet first marched to the prison of La Force,

from which he released his two principal accomplices, Lahorie and Guidal, whom he charged immediately to arrest the two ministers of police, MM. Savary and Pasquier. The prefect of police did not oppose the least resistance to the orders of the two men who had formerly been his prisoners, and whom he ought to have secured. Neither did the minister of police offer any opposition to his own arrest, nor otherwise than credit the falsehoods of Mallet, as detailed to him by Guidal and Lahorie. He was surprised in bed, and suffered himself to be conducted to La Force, where, with the prefect of police, he replaced the two state prisoners, who had just arrested him. Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, evinced the same confidence and docility. He believed the Emperor to be dead, and set about preparing the apartment which was to be used in the installation of the new government.

Mallet was less fortunate with the governor of Paris. General Hulin, instead of allowing himself to be arrested without explanation, demanded to see the orders, by virtue of which he was proceeded against, and immediately retired to his cabinet. Mallet followed him, and at the moment when the governor turned to demand some further evidence of their right to arrest him, the daring conspirator fired a pistol which wounded him in the face, and caused him to fall without killing him. A captain of the tenth cohort was present, but the attitude of the governor did not give him the least suspicion of the scheme of which he had been the dupe with his whole corps, in consequence of the credulity of his colonel.

Hulin being wounded and fallen, Mallet repaired to the adjutant, General Doucet. There, however, he met with an inspector-general of police, who recognized, and immediately ordered him to be arrested. Mallet, beholding himself lost, endeavoured to escape the lot which awaited him, by destroying himself with a second pistol, which he had concealed in his pocket. This last resource was, however, taken from him. All present, even those who till now had blindly followed, threw themselves upon and disarmed him. In a few moments, the conspirators, after having reigned for two hours in the sleeping capital, were again committed to their dungeons. The minister of police, fired upon by Mallet, was occupied in being measured for some clothes, when the order came to arrest him.

When Napoleon had read the dispatch which informed him of this outbreak, he was astonished less at the audacity of the conspirators, than at the facility with which they had overcome the superior authorities, from whom might have been expected an energetic denial, and an immediate suppression of their false news and mad attempts. The most painful and firmly based reflections assailed and rendered him sorrowful. "Behold then," said he, "on how slender a thread hangs my power? What! is my tenure of sovereignty so frail, that a single man, a prisoner, can suffice to compromise it? My crown is but

ill-fitted to my head, if, in my very capital, the audacious attempt of three adventurers can make it totter! After twelve years' government, after my marriage, after the birth of my son, after so many oaths, my death would again have plunged the country into revolution! And Napoleon II. was no longer thought of!" Turning to one of his bravest officers, and still alluding to the events of Paris, Napoleon said: "Rapp, misfortunes never come singly; this fills up the measure of what is passing here. I cannot be everywhere, but I must return to my capital; my presence there has become indispensable to restore public opinion. I require men and money; great victories will repair all."

To follow Napoleon and the various divisions of his army step by step through the whole of their manifold sufferings, would fill a volume; suffice it to state, that early in November, the Viceroy Beauharnais, with his division, was driven upon Smolensk, after some severe fighting, particularly on passing the Vop, where he was obliged to leave most of his artillery behind him. Napoleon himself was severely censured for attempting to bring a numerous artillery with him from Moscow, as the delay occasioned by it was one great cause of the destruction of so great a part of his army. About the 9th of November Napoleon himself arrived at Smolensk, where he fixed his headquarters, but could not muster more than sixty thousand men. From Smolensk he soon found it necessary to retire, at least as soon as the other divisions had set off for Krasnoi. Napoleon marched at the head of the Imperial guards on the 13th of November. He had scarcely arrived at Krasnoi before he heard of the advance of the Russians under General Miloradowitch, and that of the grand Russian army under Kutusoff: to secure his own retreat, he seized on some important positions near the village of Dobroe, and on the road to Orcha.

The rapidity of Napoleon's flight enabled him to reach Orcha in sufficient time to allow of his halting till the 20th, whilst some of the divisions of his army were concentrating upon his line of retreat. Davoust's corps had already been defeated with the loss of all their artillery, baggage, and their military chest. Several thousands laid down their arms and were made prisoners; and now a worse fate was preparing for their survivors, who were advancing with as much haste as their situation would admit, towards the fatal bridge of the Berezina.

Upon the banks of this river Napoleon arrived with his army in two distinct bodies, but found all the bridges broken down. Whilst the French were endeavouring to construct a temporary bridge for the occasion, the Russian general Wittgenstein had ordered Platoff to push forward towards Bernsoff, whilst he himself, about the 26th, advanced towards Vesselovo and Studentze, where Napoleon was erecting two bridges. Studentze was first attacked and carried, and the whole of the French troops made prisoners. When it was ascer-

tained that Napoleon was not there, Platoff was sent across the river to join Tchitchagoff, whilst Wittgenstein proceeded towards Vesselovo. But the moment that Napoleon's bridge in this quarter was passable, he ordered over a sufficient number of his guards to ensure his safety, and then passing it with his principal officers, he was followed by a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, who succeeded in such numbers, that the way was soon choked up so completely as to preclude all order or progress. In this situation the Russians arrived; when hundreds of the French threw themselves into the river, and the whole scene became that of the most tumultuous horror. Besides, as orders were



given to set fire to the bridge, great numbers fell a sacrifice to this dreadful manœuvre. It undoubtedly secured Napoleon's personal escape, but it threw the whole of the army on the other side into the hands of the Russians.

After the passage of the Berezina, most of the corps who till then had preserved some show of organization, disbanded themselves completely. Nearly thirty thousand men no longer marched, but rather herding together like timid animals, were made prisoners before they arrived at Wilna, which was more than the enemy could have expected in any general engagement on the other side of the Berezina. In a short time the French army lost the few defenders that were left; they could no longer distinguish the corps that had acted upon the Dwina, from those that had retreated from Moscow. Even the Imperial guard saw its ranks reduced to little more than three hundred men carrying arms, and preserving something like order for the preservation of their eagles. On the 5th of December, the head-quarters were at Smorgoni: in this village, after the Emperor had called a council, consisting of the King of Naples, the viceroy, and the principal generals, he determined to return to France to create new resources. The King of Naples, nominated his lieutenant-general, took the

command of his army. All the generals agreed in the propriety of the Emperor's immediate return to France.

In the fighting of a few days that preceded and followed the passage of the Berezina, the French had upwards of six thousand killed and wounded; and fifteen thousand at least remained in the hands of the enemy. During this period the Russians recovered all the trophies and riches that had been carried off from Moscow; and an immense quantity of baggage and artillery fell into their hands.

Even the arrival of the French at Wilna was one of the most disastrous events that occurred during the fatal campaign of 1812, without even excepting the passage of the Berezina. At Wilna they had flattered their imagination with finding numerous magazines, and that abundance which would make them amends for their long suffering. At Wilna they had fondly hoped they should be able again to use those arms their frozen fingers would not permit them to raise in their own defence, and to check the insolent triumph of an enemy always beaten on the field of battle, and before whom they had been compelled to retreat solely through the extreme rigour of the climate. But these hopes were deceived: they had made their last efforts, and they sunk under them. Numbers not being able to obtain an asylum in the houses encumbered by their countrymen, were compelled to remain in the streets, and there found an end to their calamities. But those who got under a roof which they supposed was hospitable, were not less unfortunate, particularly if they were alone or unarmed. Others fell victims even to the nourishment which was given them, owing to the exhaustion they had previously undergone. The limbs of others were seized with a rapid mortification, which soon extinguished the principle of existence. Many were totally unable to move from the spot upon which they had first thrown themselves to implore the aid or the pity of the surrounding spectators. It was here that fanaticism, barbarity, cupidity, and treason came under the cloak of proclamations addressed to the Russians, and brought death to the French under a thousand shapes. The most merciful amongst these executioners contented themselves with throwing these helpless men into the streets, where the cold soon put an end to their sufferings; but the greatest number were previously stripped and murdered.

This French army had not been collected at Wilna twelve hours before the enemy's cannon was heard. The corps of Seslawá attacked General Loison at the moment he had given orders to evacuate the place, when a large crowd threw themselves upon the road to Kowno. As soon as the Russian corps had formed, they attacked General Loison's corps, which notwithstanding succeeded in covering the march of a column of the fifth corps, consisting of Poles, unarmed men, and stragglers, though it thus completed the act of its own destruction. About three in the morning the last of the French that could move, left Wilna. At five, after a most painful march, they reached the mountain

of Vaka, scarcely a league from Wilna, which being covered with ice, rendered it impossible for the carriages to pass, by preventing the horses from obtaining any foot-hold. As this eminence could not be turned, it was found necessary to abandon the baggage and the Imperial treasure, containing upwards of five millions of francs in gold and silver. Thus all that the Russians had not been able to seize, or that the waves of the Berezina had spared, fell into the hands of a few hundreds of Cossacks, whom chance seemed to have brought to the spot. As a part of Platoff's corps entered Wilna after the French had left it, their hussars and Cossacks scoured the streets, robbing and massacring all the wounded French that the inhabitants had turned out of their houses, or that the avidity of the Jews had spared.

Napoleon arrived at Warsaw on the 10th of December. From Warsaw he took his route to Dresden, and then travelling rapidly by way of Leipsic and Mentz, arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, which city he entered about midnight.

During the Russian campaign, France is believed to have lost about three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. A hundred thousand were killed in the advance and retreat, a hundred and fifty thousand died from hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the climate, and about a hundred thousand remained prisoners in the hands of the Russians, not more than half of whom ever returned to France. The account has been swollen by including the Jews, suttlers, women, and children, who followed the army, and by those who joined in its retreat from Moscow, amounting to about fifty thousand persons. Upwards of sixty thousand horses were destroyed, a thousand cannon, and nearly twenty thousand waggons and carriages.

Alexander's losses have never been well ascertained ; but including the population of the abandoned cities who perished for want of food and shelter, they must have far exceeded those of the invaders. In commemoration of his deliverance, the Czar caused a medal to be struck, remarkable for the simplicity and literal truth of the inscription : " Not to us, not to me ; but to Thy name.—January, 1812."





CHAPTER XXVIII.

NAPOLÉON IN PARIS.—PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN.—PRUSSIA DECLARES WAR.—BERNADOTTE JOINS THE CONFEDERACY.—BATTLE OF LUTZEN.—NAPOLÉON AT DRESDEN.—BAUTZEN.—AUSTRIA JOINS THE ALLIES.—BATTLE OF DRESDEN.—RETREAT OF THE ALLIES.—DISASTERS OF THE FRENCH.—BATTLES OF VACHAU AND LEIPSIC.—RETURN OF NAPOLÉON TO PARIS. 1813.



AS soon as the Emperor's return was announced, addresses of congratulation were sent, not only from Paris, but from most of the cities and large towns of the Empire, all of which agreed in offering whatever sacrifices might be deemed necessary to remedy the disasters of the last campaign. Thousands of pamphlets and papers were sent from England, and distributed among the population of the

maritime provinces of France, denouncing the Emperor as a coward and deserter, who had left his army to perish in the snows of Russia; but the French, who best knew him, still deemed the war a just one, and Napoleon the only chief to whom the country could look to maintain the power of France. More than ordinary activity in the preparations for a new campaign was displayed—as an atonement, perhaps, for the supineness which had paralysed the great functionaries during the progress of Mallet's conspiracy, concerning which, however, the Emperor said but little. The only person who was

punished for neglect of duty was Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, and he was merely dismissed from office.

The Senate readily accepted decrees for anticipating the conscription of 1814, and for converting into troops of the line the first *ban* of the National Guards, consisting of a hundred thousand men. Several regiments were withdrawn from Spain, their presence there being no longer necessary, as Lord Wellington had been compelled again to retreat into Portugal, with no immediate prospect of being able to resume the offensive. Horses were purchased; provisions, clothing, stores and ammunition collected; guns cast, and waggons and other means of transport constructed, with surprising expedition. "It seemed," says Sir Walter Scott, "as if Napoleon had but to stamp on the earth, and armed legions arose at his call." His levies of men are estimated to have amounted to a total of three hundred and fifty thousand.

Before quitting Paris, Napoleon, warned by Mallet's outbreak, endeavoured to render his government secure from the dangers to which his absence might give rise, by entrusting the exercise of the supreme power to the Empress Maria Louisa, and establishing about her a regency council. In order to rid himself of the inconveniences which his rupture with the Holy See might eventually cause, he strove to bring Pius VII. to an arrangement, and succeeded in making him sign a fresh Concordat, which was immediately made public, although the Pope, yielding to a fresh influence, had already wished to retract.

But in the midst of the vast preparations which were being executed under his active and irresistible impulse, Napoleon foresaw that he would not only have to face the armies of the Czar, but that his allies of Berlin and Vienna, who had always been his secret enemies, would evince their hostile dispositions. General D'Yorck, who commanded the auxiliary Prussian corps which had been left to operate in Courland in conjunction with the French, had entered into an arrangement with the Russians, by the terms of which he was to be at liberty to retire into his own country, and either remain neutral for two months or join his force to that of Alexander. Frederick William, when appealed to on the subject, disavowed having sanctioned the proceedings of his officer; but an exposition of his sincerity was afforded by his conduct about three weeks afterwards. The Austrian commander, Prince Schwartzemberg, pursued a similar line of policy to that of D'Yorck. He had contrived throughout to evade active participation in the war, and, as soon as his allies had recrossed the Niemen, he leisurely retreated into the territories of his sovereign, leaving the French to their fate.

Everything on the Continent betokened that the crisis of French domination was at hand. The agents of England, ever on the alert, were now more than usually active in arousing all who had any

grievances to complain of to take arms in what began to be called "the common cause;" promising them speedy vengeance, and distributing among them gold with no lavish hand. Denmark, notwithstanding the wrongs she had endured, was induced to remain neutral; even Austria withheld her contingent, and began to hint at restitution of the provinces she had lost in former wars. The Westphalians complained of the government of King Jerome; and the once free towns of Germany exhibited growing symptoms of rebellion. Hamburgh, indeed, proceeded to such lengths that it was found necessary by the French governor to place the city under martial law.

Frederick William had hesitated to declare his real sentiments only while he was uncertain as to the extent of the French disasters, of which he was no sooner informed, than he hastened to assure the Czar of his friendship. On the 1st of March he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Russian autocrat; and, having had an interview with Alexander at Breslau, on the 16th he declared war against Napoleon. About this time also Bernadotte, King of Sweden, openly joined the coalition against his native country, and the man to whom he was indebted for his elevation. In order to give a less odious colouring to his treason and ingratitude, he published a letter to his former benefactor, in which he ascribed his hostile disposition to the injuries which had been wrought on Sweden by the Continental system. He urged, with affected sincerity, that nothing would afford him greater pleasure than to be the instrument of pacification between his majesty and the northern powers. Bernadotte did not wait for a reply to his strange epistle—which, indeed, except through the newspapers, never reached Napoleon—before issuing his declaration of war.

The Emperor quitted St. Cloud in the middle of April. The French army, obliged to re-place numerous garrisons in the towns it had left from Dantzic to Magdeburg, was then established on the Saale, under the orders of the Viceroy Eugene. Dresden and Leipsic were in the power of the Prussians and Russians. The King of Saxony had been compelled to abandon his states, and seek shelter under the cannon of France. Napoleon arrived at Erfurt on the 23rd of April, whilst Marshal Ney was taking possession of Weissenfels, after a contest which caused him to say he "had never, at any one time, seen so much enthusiasm and *sang froid* in the infantry." The new campaign was thus gloriously opened by the same soldier who, through so many disasters, so valiantly closed the last.

The result of this first success was to throw the enemy upon the right bank of the Saale, and to operate the junction of the army which the Viceroy brought with him from Poland, with that which the Emperor had marched from France. Napoleon formed his headquarters at Weissenfels, and had three bridges thrown over the Saale.

There he learned one of those traits of courage and boldness with which the French military annals are filled, and which furnished him with an opportunity of proving, to the satisfaction of national pride, that misfortune had not changed the moral supremacy and invincible character of the French soldiers. A Prussian colonel, at the head of one hundred hussars, having hemmed in a party of thirteen grenadiers, of the 13th line, between Saalfeld and Jena, commanded them to surrender; in reply to which a sergeant took aim at, and laid him dead. The other grenadiers commenced an irregular fire, killed seven of the enemy, and the remainder of the hussars fled.

On the 1st of May, Marshal Ney pursued his successes, and within sight of Napoleon, with the Souham division, of which he formed four squares, pushed through the defile of Poserna, which was defended by six pieces of cannon, and three lines of cavalry. The divisions Gerard, Marchand, Brenier, and Ricard followed, and in a few hours fifteen thousand cavalry, under the command of Wintzingerode, were driven by fifteen thousand foot from the beautiful plain which extends from the heights of Weissenfels to the Elbe. The cavalry of the guard, commanded by Marshal Bessieres, supported the infantry, and although not engaged, they afforded considerable service in the pursuit. Unhappily, Bessieres was struck by a spent



ball in the breast, and fell dead from his horse. This gallant officer had commanded the household troops, from the establishment of the corps of Guides, during the campaign in Italy, and was sincerely lamented by his friend and master. "He was justly entitled,"

Napoleon wrote to his consort, "to the names of brave and good. He was alike distinguished for his skill, bravery, and prudence; for his great experience in the direction of cavalry movements; for his capacity in civil affairs, and his attachment to the Emperor. His death on the field of honour is worthy of envy; it was so rapid as to have been free from pain. His reputation is without blemish—the finest heritage he could have bequeathed to his children. There are few whose loss could have been more sensibly felt. The whole French army partakes the grief of his Majesty on this melancholy occasion." "None," says a writer mostly averse to Napoleon, "wore the ducal coronet with more unsullied honour than did Bessieres that of Istria."

On the 2nd May, the Emperor established his head-quarters at Lutzen. The guard, under Marmont, with whom was the Emperor, formed the right of the army; Ney's corps, occupying the village of Kaia, was placed in the centre, and the Viceroy, on the Elster, commanded the left wing. The Allies, led on by the Czar and the King of Prussia, had made rapid marches from the North in order to prevent Napoleon taking possession of Leipsic; and finding that the Emperor's reinforcements had not yet arrived, determined on attacking him in the already memorable field of Lutzen. Before day-break on the 2nd, Blucher crossed the Elster with the allied troops, and attacked Ney's position. At first, being supported by a formidable cavalry, its shock was irresistible. Ney was already giving way, when Napoleon, although assailed in flank while advancing, pushed forward a strong body of the guard to sustain the centre, and ordered both wings to wheel round, thus outflanking and surrounding the main body of the enemy. The village of Kaia was taken and retaken several times, but at length remained in the hands of Gerard. The centre next advanced, supported by the guard, and eighty pieces of artillery, which latter carried fearful destruction into the enemy's ranks. The Allies, unable to withstand this fire, and learning that the wings of the French army were closing upon them, and that their reserve was attacked, beat a retreat, which, fortunately for themselves, they were enabled to effect in comparatively good order, thanks to their immense numbers and powerful cavalry. Napoleon's victory was less complete than was desirable; nevertheless, he retained possession of the field, having lost but ten or twelve thousand men, while the Allies lost above twenty thousand.

Napoleon immediately sent dispatches to every court in alliance with France to announce the event. "In my young soldiers," he said, "I have found all the valour of my old companions in arms. During the twenty years that I have commanded the French troops, I have never witnessed more bravery and devotion. If all the Allied Sovereigns, and the ministers who direct their cabinets, had been present on the field of battle, they would have renounced the vain hope of causing the star of France to decline."

Alexander and the King of Prussia, after their defeat at Lutzen, retired to Leipsic, thence to Dresden, and finally, being pursued, to Bautzen, where they intrenched their camp, in order to await the arrival of the numerous forces which were marching to join them. On the 11th of May, Napoleon entered Dresden, and on the 12th, the King of Saxony, who had been compelled by the Allies to retire to Prague, was restored to his capital. As the old King and the Emperor rode side by side through the streets, the populace rent the air with their shouts.

On becoming master of Dresden, the Emperor, as usual, sent proposals of a pacific nature to the Allies, suggesting that a general congress should assemble at Prague, to treat for peace. Neither Russia nor Prussia, however, would listen favourably to what they considered would be an admission of their incapacity to realize their boast of speedily dethroning "the scourge and tyrant of Europe and mankind." Austria had been sounded, and expressed her willingness to join the coalition on the first favourable opportunity. Napoleon was not blind to all this, but perfectly comprehended the nature of the intrigues in progress. Finding his proposals rejected, he immediately sent Prince Eugene to Italy, in order to organize an army of defence against the time when the Emperor Francis would declare for the Allies, and endeavour to recover his lost possessions in Lombardy. The Allies were now compelled to concentrate their whole force on Bautzen, in order to enable them to resist an attack, should such be made. Bernadotte, on whose assistance so much reliance had been placed, halted at a safe distance from the scene of action, in order to be ready to retire, if necessary, without hazarding an engagement.

Napoleon remained for a week at Dresden, before again opening the campaign, in order to ascertain the result of his pacific overtures; but finding them fruitless, he commenced his march on Bautzen on the 18th, having already sent Marshal Ney to advance towards Spremberg. The Emperor reached the formidable position of the Allies on the 21st, which he found to be situated a little way in the rear of Bautzen, with the river Spree in front; a chain of wooded hills, and various well-fortified eminences to the right and left, occupied by the Allies. The action commenced by the movement of a column of Italians, who were intended to turn the Russian flank; this body, however, was attacked and dispersed before Marshal Ney could support them. The remainder of the day was spent in passing the Spree, which was effected without molestation.

Having bivouacked in the town of Bautzen for the night, the Emperor resolved on the following day to turn the camp of the enemy, instead of storming it. Ney, therefore, made a large circuit round the extreme right of the Russians, while Oudinot engaged their left, and Soult and the Emperor attacked the centre. For four

hours did the Prussians maintain their ground against the repeated charges of Soult, several times losing and regaining the heights forming the key to their position. The slaughter was dreadful on both sides; but at length, Blucher was driven back, and the French left in undisputed possession. Ney had now gained the rear of the Allies, and poured in murderous volleys of shot on their dispirited masses. The Allies, panic-stricken, commenced their retreat with such celerity as to gain time to rally on the roads leading to Bohemia, all others being closed against them. This well-fought day was brought to a close with very unimportant results, neither guns nor prisoners having been taken. General Bruyères, at the head of the cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, was struck down by a bullet in the moment of success. This day was signalized also by another loss, still more distressing for Napoleon, than all those which he had hitherto suffered, more trying to his heart than those even of Bessieres and Lannes. About seven o'clock in the evening, the Grand Marshal of the palace, Duroc, was conversing on a slight eminence, and at a considerable distance from the firing, with Marshal Mortier and General Kirgener, all three on foot, when a cannon-ball, aimed at the group, ploughed up the ground near the Duke of Treviso, ripped open Duroc's abdomen, and overthrew General Kirgener, who remained dead on the spot.



As soon as the Emperor was informed of this fatal event he hastened to Duroc, who still breathed, and had preserved all his coolness.

Duroc pressed the hand of Napoleon and bore it to his lips. "All my life," he said to him, "has been devoted to your service, and I only regret its loss for the use which it might still have been to you!" Napoleon, deeply moved, took the right hand of Duroc in his own, and remained for a quarter of an hour with his head resting on the left hand of his old comrade, without being able to proffer a word. Duroc was the first to break the silence, "Ah, Sire," he said to him, "go hence! this spectacle pains you!" Napoleon yielded to this last solicitation of friendship; he quitted him unable to say aught but these words: "Adieu then, my friend!" and he required to support himself on Marshal Soult and Caulaincourt, in order to regain his tent, where he would receive no person the whole night.

On the following day, General Reynier obtained a fresh advantage over the Russians, at the affair of Gorlitz. On the 24th, Marshal Ney forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th, in the morning, he was beyond the Queiss, making his entry into Buntzlau, where the Emperor arrived in the evening. It was in this town that old General Kutusoff had died a few weeks before. A slight check, experienced on the 26th by General Maison, before the town of Hainault, did not long arrest the course of success, and the victorious march of the French army. Two days after, General Sebastiani seized, at Spolttau, a considerable convoy, whilst Marshal Oudinot fought the Prussian corps of Bulow at Hoyerswerda.

On the 29th, at ten o'clock in the morning, Count Schouwaloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and the Prussian General Kleist, presented themselves at the French advanced posts, in order to propose an armistice, which the Duke of Vicenza negotiated with them, in the first instance, at the convent of Watelstadt, near Lignitz, and afterwards at the neutralised village of Peicherwitz, where it was concluded and signed on the 4th of June, three days after the entry of Lauriston into the capital of Silesia. The term of the armistice was fixed for the 20th of July. Napoleon insisted upon the acceptance of an offer of a congress at Prague; and in order to impede the dark and hostile march of the Aulic council, he proposed to refer to the mediation of the Emperor of Austria.

But the time had now arrived for Austria to throw off the mask. Having at her ease taken all her measures, on the 11th of August, at noon, the minister of the Emperor Francis addressed to the French ambassador at the Court of Vienna, M. de Narbonne, the declaration of war by the Austrian cabinet against Napoleon. A new rendezvous was fixed at Dresden, whither the Allies repaired from all sides, not in order to recompose the drawing-room of kings, and the adulative circle of 1812, but in order to form round the French Emperor a ring of implacable enemies. Two hundred thousand Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, commanded by the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzemberg, rapidly traversed Bohemia,

in order to invade Saxony, and take up a position on the left bank of the Elbe. A hundred thousand men, under the orders of Blucher and Sacken, manœuvred in Silesia; and a hundred and ten thousand men, amongst whom figured the numerous corps of volunteers which German patriotism had created, advanced on the line from Hamburg to Berlin, to encounter the French.

The campaign, however, re-commenced under favourable auspices for France. Napoleon marched to encounter Alexander and the King of Prussia, forced the defiles of Bohemia, took possession of Gobel, Rumburg, and Georgenthal, and, after advancing to within twenty leagues of Prague, returned to Zittau, whence he departed in all haste to join the army of Silesia, which had need of his presence. On the 21st at daybreak, he was at Löwenburg, where he had bridges thrown over the Bober, which he crossed during the day, despite the enemy's fire, who was overthrown and pursued as far as Goldberg. On the 23rd there was a fresh attack. General Gerard, who defiled to the left, broke and dispersed a column of twenty-five thousand Prussians, whilst, on the right, Flensburg was taken and retaken, and the rout of the Allies at length decided by an impetuous and murderous charge of the 135th regiment.

The Emperor was now called away for the defence of Dresden, where sixty-five thousand French troops found themselves opposed to a hundred and eighty thousand of the allied forces. Prince Schwartzemberg, the general-in-chief, had on the 26th made a faint



attack upon Dresden, being urged to take this step by the deserter Jomini, who so well understood the real state of things. Napoleon came up with his usual rapidity with a hundred thousand French

troops. The affair was not long doubtful, and the enemy was overwhelmed: he lost forty thousand men, and was for some time threatened with total destruction. The Emperor Alexander was present at the battle. Napoleon observing at the distance of about five hundred yards a group of persons on horseback, and being resolved to disturb them, ordered a captain of artillery to throw a dozen of bullets amongst them at once. One of these balls struck Moreau, who had then joined the Russians, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. He survived only a few hours.

The happy chance so anxiously looked for by Napoleon, which was expected to re-establish his affairs, procure peace, and to save France, had at length arrived. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, Austria dispatched an agent to the Emperor, with amicable propositions. But such is the uncertainty of human destiny; from that moment, by an unexampled fatality, Napoleon had to encounter a chain of disasters. At every point, except that at which he was himself present, the French sustained reverses: their army in Silesia lost twenty-five thousand men in opposing Blücher; the force which attacked Berlin, was defeated by the King of Sweden with great loss; and, finally, nearly the whole of Vandamme's corps, which, after the victory of Dresden, was sent into Bohemia, with the view of assailing the enemy's rear, and accomplishing its destruction, being abandoned to itself and the temerity of its chief, was cut to pieces by that part of the allied army which was precipitately falling back. This fatal disaster, and the safety of the Austrians, was occasioned by a sudden indisposition of Napoleon.

After these repeated checks the spell was broken; the spirit of the French troops became depressed, while that of the Allies was the more highly excited. The hostile forces were now to be estimated only by their numerical value, and a catastrophe seemed to be at hand. Napoleon, in despair, used many vain efforts; he hastened to every threatened point, but was immediately called away by some new disaster. Wherever he appeared, the Allies retreated before him; and they advanced again as soon as his back was turned. Meanwhile all the enemy's masses were constantly gaining ground; they had effected communications with each other, and they now formed a semicircle, which was gradually closing round the French, who were now driven back upon the Elbe. On the other hand, their rear, which was uncovered, was assailed by detached parties. The kingdom of Westphalia was in open insurrection; their convoys were intercepted, and they could no longer maintain free communications with France.

Having learned that Bavaria had joined the Allies, and that symptoms of disaffection had manifested themselves in Central Germany, Napoleon perceived that it would be impossible to maintain himself on the Elbe, and thought of approaching the French frontiers,

preserving as much as possible his victorious attitude. But in the face of an innumerable army, which the most complete defeats could not lessen, by reason of its being incessantly kept up by recruits from the whole of Europe, he felt that a considerable levy of men had become necessary for him, and he therefore demanded of the Senate two hundred and eighty thousand conscripts. That obsequious body hastened to comply with his wishes, and the levy was voted without opposition.

The Emperor had decided upon retiring on Leipsic, where he arrived on the 15th of October. The troops of Victor, Augereau, and Lauriston had already joined each other in the neighbourhood of that city. The Allies followed closely, and, by a combined movement of all their scattered forces, succeeded in concentrating themselves, on the 16th, around the French army, which thus found itself arrested in its march southwards and westwards by Schwartzberg and Giulay, whilst Beningsen and Collaredo, Blucher and Bernadotte, marched on it from the east and north. Five hundred thousand men were now in presence of each other under the walls or in the environs of Leipsic, and a great battle had become inevitable.

On the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the signal for battle was given, to the south of Leipsic, by the Prince of Schwartzberg. This attack soon became general, and was sustained by two hundred pieces of cannon. At first the Allies had the advantage; they menaced the villages of Markleberg and Dolitz, and made Napoleon's right give ground, when the infantry of Poniatowski and Augereau, and the cavalry of General Milhaud, come to arrest on this side the progress of the enemy. In the centre, Victor and Lauriston maintained Vachau and Lieberwalkwitz, despite the efforts of the Prince of Wirtemberg and Generals Gorzakoff and Klenau; while Macdonald and Sebastiani were equally successful on the left. After a prolonged and desperate contest the Allies were repulsed at all points; and the French, assuming the offensive, attacked the already disordered masses of their opponents with such impetuosity that a wild flight commenced. The Emperor Alexander, seeing the battle of Vachau on the point of being lost, decided upon lending not only his reserves, but even his escort, at the risk of compromising his own safety; and hastening to the point most menaced, precipitated the Cossacks of the guard on the French cavalry. This extreme resolution, as generous as imprudent, although it might have compromised the person of the Czar, nevertheless preserved the army of the Allies from a total defeat. The Cossacks retook twenty-four of the twenty-six pieces of cannon which had just been wrested from the Russians. Both armies, at the close of the day, occupied their former positions.

The Allies lost twenty thousand men at Vachau. On the side of the French, it was reckoned that two thousand five hundred men were killed and wounded. General Latour-Maubourg was struck by

a bullet. Napoleon strongly eulogised the conduct of his lieutenants, Victor, Marmont, Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald, Augereau, etc.; he specially signalized the bravery of Lauriston and the heroic intrepidity of Poniatowski, whom he raised to the dignity of Marshal.

The battle would have re-commenced on the 17th, if the heavy rains and bad roads, which had retarded the arrival of General Beningsen, had not induced the Allies to put off their attack till the morrow. On the 18th, at day-break, the Allies were in motion, and at ten o'clock the cannonade had commenced throughout the line. The enemy chiefly directed their efforts against the villages of Connewitz and Probstheide, to the carrying of which they attached the success of the battle. Four attempts were made upon Probstheide, and four times were they defeated. At all points the French army obstinately defended and succeeded in maintaining its positions. At three o'clock the chances of the battle were in favour of the French army. But one of those events which military science can neither foresee nor guard against, and which for a year past had so often disarranged the calculations of Napoleon, suddenly changed the face of affairs. The Saxon army and the Wirtemberg cavalry passed over to the enemy; the general-in-chief, Zeschau, who remained faithful to the French flag, could only retain five hundred men under his command. The artillery even turned its forty pieces of cannon against the division of General Durnutte. This defection left a gap in the French lines, and gave to the Allies the important position which the Saxon army had been charged to defend. In a few moments the enemy (it was Bernadotte) had passed the Partha and occupied Reidnitz. He was not more than half a league from Leipsic, when Napoleon himself arrived with a division of the Guard. The presence of the Emperor reanimated the ardour of his troops. Reidnitz was soon retaken, and when night arrived, the French were, as on the preceding evening, masters of the field of battle, but had gained no decided advantage. Napoleon consequently found himself under the necessity of preparing for a fresh battle on the morrow. But, at seven o'clock in the evening, Generals Sorbier and Dulauloy came to inform him that the munitions of war were exhausted, and that they had scarcely sufficient to keep up two hours' firing. During five days, the army had made more than two hundred and twenty thousand discharges of cannon, and in order to obtain fresh supplies, their only choice lay between Magdeburgh and Erfurt. Under these circumstances there was no time for consideration. Napoleon decided for Erfurt, and immediately gave orders to retreat by the defiles of Lindenau, the free passage of which General Bertrand had so valiantly defended and maintained against the Austrian corps of Giulay. The Emperor passed the night in dictating orders to the Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza. On the 19th, at day-break, the greater part of the army had effected its retreating movement. Victor and Augereau

defiled first, Marmont was charged to defend as long as he could the faubourg of Halle, Regnier that of Rosenthal, and Ney those in the east. Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski, placed in the rear, were to maintain themselves in the southern quarters, and preserve the approaches to the Elster until the corps of Ney and Marmont had crossed the river. It had been proposed to Napoleon to destroy Leipsic and to burn its vast suburbs, in order to prevent the enemy from establishing himself there, which would have allowed more time for the French army to effect its retreat, and to issue from the defiles of Lindenau; but this the Emperor would not consent to. The enemy, however, having perceived the retrograde movement of the French, all his columns rushed at once upon Leipsic. But they met in the suburbs with an obstinate and unexpected resistance. Macdonald and Poniatowski, charged with the safety of the army, heroically fulfilled the noble and perilous mission which had been confided to them. All the attacks of Blucher and the other hostile generals were vigorously repulsed. The Emperor, after taking an affectionate farewell of the King of Saxony, was enabled to leave Leipsic without meeting with any obstruction, and proceed towards Lindenau.

Whilst the rear guard defended the suburbs inch by inch, and slowly effected its retreat beneath the walls of Leipsic, the Saxons remaining in the town fired from the ramparts on the French troops. All speed was then made for the great bridge over the Elster, which led to the defile of Lindenau. The bridge had been undermined, and Colonel Montfort had been commissioned to fire the train, as soon as the last columns of the army should have passed over to the other bank, in order to retard the march of the enemy. By a most fatal mistake, the sapper to whom the match had been entrusted, thought that the French had entirely defiled, and that the Allies had come, when he beheld them firing from the boulevards and ramparts on the rear-guard. He set fire to the train, and a powerful explosion aroused the Emperor from a slumber, which, aided by fatigue, had surprised him at the mill of Lindenau. The great bridge over the Elster had been blown up, and four *corps d'armée*, having with them more than two hundred pieces of cannon, were still on the boulevards or in the suburbs. Reynier, Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatowski were thus cut off from the main body, without a chance of being able to maintain their defence: the troops therefore dispersed. Macdonald threw himself into the Elster and escaped by swimming. Poniatowski sprung his horse into the river, sunk in a hole, and rose no more. Reynier and Lauriston also disappeared, and were believed to have been either killed or drowned. Twelve thousand men perished or fell into the enemy's hands by this fatal event.

Napoleon, after this disaster, continued his retreat towards Erfurt, where the head-quarters were established on the 23rd, and where "the victorious French army arrived," said the bulletin addressed

to the Empress, "like an army that had been defeated." While here Colonel Montfort, and the sapper who had prematurely blown up the bridge of Elster, were brought before a council of war. Napoleon left Erfurt, on the 25th, and pursued his march towards the Rhine. The Austro-Bavarians hastened to meet him, and endeavour to bar his passage to Hanau. Their positions, however, were stormed, and their army utterly routed, while four thousand men were taken prisoners, and upwards of ten thousand were left on the field. Six of their generals were killed or wounded, and both cannons and flags were left in the power of the conquerors. Napoleon specially distinguished two squadrons of guards of honour as having shared the perils and glory of the cuirassiers, the horse grenadiers and the dragoons, in this brilliant affair.

On the 1st of November, the Emperor arrived at Frankfort. He wrote thence to Maria Louisa to announce to her the sending of twenty flags taken at Vachau, Leipsic, and Hanau; trophies which were dearly paid for. On the following day, Napoleon entered Mayence at five o'clock in the morning, where he busied himself, for some days, in the reorganization of his army, which was about to establish itself on the Rhine, and left in the night of the 8th to return to France. On the 9th, at five o'clock in the evening, he was at St. Cloud.





CHAPTER XXIX.

CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE.—LEVY OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.—DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON FOR THE ARMY.—BATTLE OF BRIENNE.—CHAMPEAUBERT.—VAUCHAMP.—MONTEREAU.—TROYES.—RETREAT OF THE ALLIES.—ARMISTICE.—CONGRESS OF CHATILLON.—INCREASING DIFFICULTIES OF NAPOLEON.—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES.—CAPITULATION OF PARIS, 1813—1814.



PARIS, which had been for so long a time accustomed to songs of victory and triumphal entries, now beheld Napoleon, for the second time in a space of twelve months, return to his capital, betrayed by his allies and by fortune, pursued by the armies of Europe, and having nothing but the wreck of his own to oppose them. As in 1792, the territory of France was threatened with invasion. All Europe had combined to overwhelm the great Revolution and its principles. In Spain, Lord Wellington had defeated Marshal Jourdan at Vittoria, and destroyed the authority of King Joseph; and the English, after taking the fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampluna, had passed the Bidassoa and encamped within the frontiers of ancient France, compelling Soult to retreat before them. In Italy, the Viceroy Eugene, being assailed by a powerful army of Austrians and Bavarians, was compelled to fall back upon the line of the Tagliamento, and subsequently on the Mincio, where he cantoned his troops, and waited to act as circumstances might require. Murat, at the same time, entered into negotiations with the Allies, engaging to join the Confederacy against his brother-in-law and patron, on condition of having the crown of Naples assured to him. Napoleon,

when first informed of Murat's desertion, refused to credit the report. "It cannot be," he exclaimed. "Murat, to whom I gave my sister—to whom I gave a crown! It is impossible that Murat should have declared against me!" At the moment when these doubts were expressed, however, Murat was advancing with all speed to assist the Austrians in expelling the French from Italy.

In this critical state of affairs Napoleon lost no time in preparing for the decisive contest about to ensue. On the 15th of November he demanded from the Senate a new levy of three hundred thousand conscripts. The public taxes were at the same time greatly augmented; and Napoleon, from his own private coffers in the Tuileries, drew forth thirty millions of francs to provide for the emergency in which the country was placed. Notwithstanding the alleged exhaustion of the country, resources arose as by creation—the Emperor directing all. "Though age," says De Bourrienne, "might have been supposed to have deprived him of some of his activity; yet, in that crisis, I beheld him as in his most vigorous youth: again he developed that fervid mind, which, as in his early conquests, annihilated time and space, and seemed omnipresent in his energies."

The Grand Army of the Allies, having violated the neutrality of Switzerland for that purpose, crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen, on the 20th of December. The army of Blücher passed, on the 1st of January, 1814, between Coblenz and Rastadt; and Wintzingerode and Bülow, shortly afterwards, penetrated into the Netherlands. Bernadotte did not enter France with the Allies; but seized the opportunity, while confusion reigned throughout Europe, to make an unprovoked war upon Denmark, which in a short time he was enabled to strip of her ancient realm of Norway.

Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January, at three o'clock in the morning, after having burnt his most secret papers, and embraced his wife and son—for the last time! On the 26th, he established his head-quarters at Vitry, and arrived, on the 27th, at St. Dizier, whence he drove the enemy, who had committed all sorts of excesses during the last two days. The presence of the Emperor overjoyed the inhabitants. An old soldier, Colonel Bouland, came to throw himself at his feet, and to express the gratitude of the population, who were pressing around their liberator. Two days after, Napoleon took from Blücher the town and castle of Brienne, occasioning him a loss of four thousand men. Blücher, who did not think the Emperor was with the army, and especially so near, narrowly escaped the same fate, at the moment when he was leaving the castle on foot at the head of his staff. The Prussians set fire to the town in order to cover their retreat.

On the 1st of February, Blücher and Schwartzburg, having joined, marched upon La Rothière and Dienville, where the rear-guard of the French army was posted. Proud of their numerical

superiority, they reckoned upon an easy triumph. Generals Duhesme and Gerard undeceived them; Duhesme maintained La Rothière, and Gerard, Dienville. Marshal Victor, posted at the hamlet of La Giberie, maintained himself throughout the day; but, in the night,



a battery belonging to a regiment of the Imperial guard, which had lost its way, and fallen into an ambuscade, remained in the power of the enemy. The cannoneers indeed saved themselves, with their baggage, by forming a squadron and fighting vigorously, as soon as they perceived that there was no time to use their pieces.

The battle of Brienne, and the defence of La Rothière, Dienville, and La Giberie, had gloriously opened the campaign. But Blucher and Schwartzberg had such considerable forces at their disposal, that Napoleon might fear being surrounded, or cut off from his capital,

if he persisted in retaining his position in the environs of Brienne. The hostile columns were directing themselves towards Sens by Bar-sur-Aube and Auxerre. The Emperor needed to secure Paris from a surprise. He retired, therefore, upon Troyes, which he entered on the 3rd of February, and afterwards on Nogent, where his headquarters were held on the 7th. His object thus was to separate, by rapid and skilful manœuvres, the two great Prussian and Austrian armies, which he could not advantageously attack as long as their union lasted, and which he calculated upon beating one after the other, if he succeeded in isolating them. The execution of this plan commenced with a striking success, on the 15th of February, at Champaubert; but his blows fell this time on the Russians. The General-in-chief Alsasieff, at the head of twelve regiments, was completely routed. He was taken with six thousand of his men, and the remainder were drowned in a swamp, or killed on the field of battle. Forty pieces of cannon, and all the ammunition and baggage, were left in the power of the victor.

Next day it was Blucher's turn to be beaten. Napoleon came up with him at Montmirail, and, after two hours fighting, caused him such immense loss, that his *corps d'armée* appeared entirely destroyed. On the following day, there was a fresh success. A hostile column, endeavouring to protect Blucher's retreat, was taken at Chateau Thierry, where the French troops entered pell-mell with the Russians and Prussians. Five generals of these two nations were among the prisoners. The Emperor slept at the castle of Nesle. The remainder of the enemy precipitated their retreat, which resembled a flight; and as the soldiers of Blucher and Sacken, in marching on Paris, had committed many excesses and cruelties, they were exposed in their rout to the retaliation of the peasants, who attacked them in the woods, and took a great number of prisoners, whom they were proud of conducting to the posts of the French army.

But the allied armies, annihilated each day, reappeared incessantly, always ready for battle. All Europe was opposed to the Emperor, and her beaten and dispersed soldiers were immediately replaced by fresh troops. Blucher, whose corps had been destroyed on the 12th at Chateau Thierry, was able, in the 14th, to re-enter the lists at Vauchamp. This village, attacked by the Duke of Ragusa, was taken and retaken several times. Whilst the fight raged with great slaughter, General Grouchy fell on the rear of the enemy, and mowed down his squares. The Emperor seized this moment to make his four squadrons charge, which broke through and took a square of two thousand men. All the cavalry of the guard followed at full trot; the enemy, already vanquished, hastened his retreat; but was pursued until nightfall, sword in hand. His rear-guard, formed by the Russian division of General Ouroussoff, attacked with fixed bayonets by the first regiment of marine, could not sustain the shock,

and dispersed, leaving in the hands of the French a thousand prisoners, among whom was the commander-in-chief. The day of Vauchamp cost the Allies ten thousand prisoners, ten flags, ten pieces of cannon, and many killed and wounded.

In order to march against the troops operating on the Marne, and which threatened Paris from the side of Rheims and Soissons, the Emperor had been compelled to leave to his lieutenants the care of holding Schwartzemberg in check on the Aube and Seine. But the Austrian generalissimo being opposed to forces so far inferior to his own, had marched forward, after having been detained for two days beneath the walls of Nogent by General Bourmont. Marshals Victor and Oudinot had not thought it prudent to hazard a battle in order to stay the field-marshal, and being unable to bar his passage, they had retired, the first on Nangis, the second, on the river Yères, and Oudinot had even ordered the bridges of Montereau and Melun to be blown up. As soon as the Emperor learnt the progress of Schwartzemberg, he left Marmont and Mortier on the Marne, and hastened, with the rapidity of lightning, to the point menaced by the Austrian army. On the 16th of February, he had arrived on the Yères, holding his head-quarters at Guisnes. On the 17th, he set out for Nangis, where he found the Russian corps of Wittgenstein, which supported the movement of the Austro-Bavarians; another Russian column, under the orders of General Pahlen, was at Mormant. The Emperor attacked these two generals, and completely routed both. General Gerard carried the village of Mormant, where the 32nd entered at full charge; the cavalry, commanded by Generals Valmy and Milhaud, and supported by the artillery of General Drouot, instantly broke the squares of the Russian infantry, which, in its defeat was taken almost entire, generals, officers, and soldiers, to the number of upwards of six thousand. The General-in-chief, Wittgenstein, had scarcely time to escape, and take refuge in Nogent.

Napoleon passed the night of the 17th at the castle of Nangis, and resolved to march the next day on Montereau, where Marshal Victor ought to have been in advance of the Austrian army, and to have taken up his position on the evening of the 17th. However, when General Chateau presented himself on the 18th, at ten o'clock in the morning, before Montereau, this important post had been already occupied upwards of an hour by General Bianci, whose divisions had taken position on the heights which covered the bridges and the town. Although very inferior in number, General Chateau briskly attacked the enemy; but the forces were too unequal. Deprived of the support of the divisions which ought to have arrived the preceding evening, he was at first repulsed. The vigour with which he sustained his attack, nevertheless, gave time to some other corps to arrive and place themselves in line of battle. Gerard, who was one of the first to arrive, had established a sort of equilibrium in the chances of battle,

when the Emperor came up at full gallop. His presence redoubled the ardour and bravery of the troops ; he rode into the thickest of the fight, in the midst of the bullets and balls. The enemy had already given way on the plain of Surville, when General Pajol suddenly falling upon his rear, by the road of Melun, forced him to throw himself into the Seine and the Yonne. The guard had no occasion to engage ; it only appeared to behold the enemy flying in all directions, and to assist at the noble triumph of the corps of Gerard and Pajol. The inhabitants of Montereau associated themselves with this triumph by firing from their windows on the Austrians and Wirtembergers. The French army sustained a loss which grievously afflicted the Emperor : General Chateau was struck dead by a bullet on the bridge of Montereau, while directing a charge by which the bridge was captured.

The battles of Mormant and Montereau had the same result for Schwartzemberg, as those of Montmirail and Vauchamp, of Champaubert and Chateau Thierry, had had for Blucher. The Austrians, as unfortunate as the Russians and Prussians in their march on Paris, were compelled to fall back in their turn, across a population embittered by their violence and unforgiving in the pursuit. Napoleon returned to Troyes on the 23rd of February. The presence of the enemy there, had encouraged the partisans of the Bourbons to make public manifestations of their opinion : an emigrant and a *garde du corps* had worn the decoration of St. Louis. The Emperor had them tried by a military commission, which condemned them to die : the emigrant alone was executed, the *garde du corps* having taken flight.

Beaten on the Seine and the Marne, and seeing their two grand armies routed, and retiring discouraged before the victorious troops of Napoleon, the allied sovereigns again sought to gain time to reform their army and make their reserves advance. With this object in view, they proposed to resume the sterile negotiations opened at Frankfort in the month of November, and afterwards transferred to Chatillon. The Emperor of Austria, was charged with the first propositions. Accordingly, Prince Wenceslaus of Lichtenstein, on the 23rd, was despatched to Napoleon, in order to demand an armistice, preparatory to renewing negotiations for peace. Napoleon, with strange infatuation, listened to and granted the request of his enemies ; and the war ceased at a moment when, to have obtained concessions from his humbled enemies, he should have prosecuted it with redoubled vigour. Previous to the victories of Montmirail, Champaubert, and Montereau, Napoleon had been disposed to agree to the terms of peace demanded by the Allies ; but he felt himself now in a position to impose better terms ; and accordingly he wrote to Caulaincourt, who was his representative at the Congress of Chatillon, to insist, as a *sine qua non*, on the retention of Belgium. But this proposition, as Napoleon foresaw, was rejected by England, whose

influence was paramount at the Congress; and as the armistice itself was only a subterfuge to gain time, no sooner had the Allies rallied their broken troops, and obtained reinforcements from Germany, than warlike operations recommenced.

Whilst, therefore, the Austrians, the last of the coalition that had been beaten, affected to be conciliating on the Seine and the Aube, and sought to detain Napoleon there in the hope of an approaching cessation of hostilities, the Prussians, the date of whose defeats now numbered ten days, and who had hastened to repair their losses, again became menacing on the Marne; and Blucher, profiting by the absence of the Emperor, once more essayed to march upon Paris. Napoleon learnt at Troyes, on the night of the 26th of February, that the Prussian army was in motion. His resolution was soon taken. He again hastened to the succour of his capital, and came with the prodigious celerity which rendered his marches and manœuvres so remarkable, to fall upon the rear of Blucher, who still had Marmont and Mortier in front.

But it was important that Schwartzenberg should not observe the departure of the Emperor, and that he should remain ignorant of the fact that he was only opposed to the two *corps d'armée* of Macdonald and Oudinot, which Napoleon had left under the command-in-chief of the first of these Marshals. In order to effect this, great demonstrations were made along the whole line of the French army, such as usually took place when the Emperor appeared in the camp. The Emperor, however, was already far on his way. Leaving Troyes on the 27th, in the morning, he arrived in the evening on the confines of the department of the Aube and Marne, and passed the night at Herbisse in very humble quarters. On the 28th, at Sézanne, he learnt that Mortier and Marmont, after having effected their junction, on the 26th, at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, still found themselves too inferior in number to Blucher, and had retired before him in the direction of Meaux. He immediately marched in this direction, and fixed his head-quarters at the castle of Estrenay, where he passed the night of the 28th of February. Some officers sent by Macdonald and Oudinot, joined him there. They announced that on the very day the Emperor had quitted Troyes, the Austrians had resumed the offensive, and that at the close of a murderous engagement on the heights of Bar-sur-Aube, they had easily perceived that they were no longer in the presence of the bulk of the French army, nor of its chief. This discovery had emboldened them to detach the Prince of Hesse-Homburg and General Bianchi on Lyons, in order to hinder Marshal Augereau from attempting the least diversion by the basin of the Saone, and even to drive him from the important position which he occupied in this second city of the kingdom. Despite a somewhat considerable detachment, Schwartzenberg and Wittgenstein believed themselves sufficiently superior in number to fall back upon Troyes,

where the Dukes of Tarentum and Reggio were not strong enough to maintain their position.

As soon as Blucher learnt that the Emperor approached, he sought to escape him; the march of the Prussian army on Paris had not been so easy and rapid as Napoleon had feared. Mortier and Marmont had only given way foot by foot; and their retreat had even been marked by some advantages gained in the environs of Meaux, in the affairs of Gué-à-Trême and de Lisy. The Emperor only knew of the retrograde movement of Blucher on the day of the 1st of March, when he had reached the heights which command La Ferté. He had flattered himself with hemming in the Prussian generalissimo between himself and the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso, and he now beheld him precipitately retreating in the direction of Soissons, after having made a rampart of the Marne by breaking down the bridges. Orders were immediately expedited to Marmont and Mortier, to pursue the Prussians without a moment's delay, whilst Baeler d'Albe and Rumigny proceeded to announce the retreat of the Prussians, the one at Paris, and the other at Chatillon. The re-construction of the bridge of La Ferté cost the Emperor a day. His army could at length cross the Marne, in the night of the 2nd of March, and march upon Chateau-Thierry, to take afterwards the road to Soissons, where the Emperor hoped to receive Blucher beneath the cannon of the place, the fortifications of which were in good condition, and which had a garrison of fourteen hundred Poles to defend it. Mortier and Marmont executed, with equal celerity and intelligence, the orders which had been transmitted to them; and their march on Soissons, parallel with that of the Emperor, kept Blucher constantly hemmed in between two French armies.

The Prussian general already deemed himself lost; but, at the moment preparations were making for yielding his arms, he was agreeably surprised to hear that the commandant of Soissons, obeying the first formal summons which had been sent to the town by Eulow and Wintzingerode, had opened the gates of the fortress, and afforded them a refuge. French writers have universally attributed this unaccountable proceeding to cowardice or treachery. Napoleon appears to have been utterly confounded by it, and to have considered it worse than a defeat in the field. He, however, assaulted the town without delay; but being informed that Blucher had retired to concentrate his forces between Craonne and Laon, he abandoned further operations there, with the intention of bringing on an immediate and decisive conflict. On the 6th of March, the French advanced-guard came in sight of the enemy, and on the 7th a furious engagement commenced. The battle was well sustained on each side, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Allies began to retreat, in such good order, however, that they left no other trophies on the field than their dead and wounded. Napoleon pursued as far

as the inn of L'Ange-Gardien at Baye, where he received despatches from Caulaincourt, who was still at Chatillon, containing the ultimatum of the Allies, that France should at once retire within her ancient boundaries as a preliminary to future negociation. The Emperor rejected the proposal with disdain. "If I am doomed to flagellation," he exclaimed, "let it at least be compulsorily inflicted." This was the only answer he deigned to give, and with this M. de Rumigny returned to the Congress.

On the 8th Napoleon resumed his march against Blucher, and on the 9th surprised his rear-guard, which was driven in disorder upon the town of Laon. In the meantime, Marmont came up from Soissons, and he, Ney, Mortier, and the corps of Imperial guards, got into position for a decisive engagement on the morrow. Blucher also received large reinforcements, among which was the army commanded by Bernadotte, which seems not to have enjoyed the confidence of the Allies—a natural consequence of the conduct of its chief. Bulow, Wintzingerode, Sacken, Langeron, Kleist, D'Yorck, and Bernadotte were all now assembled round Blucher; and the Allies, upwards of a hundred thousand strong, awaited with confidence the onset of the French army.

Notwithstanding the disadvantage of numbers, the Emperor resolved upon attacking the Prussians, and was preparing on the 10th, at four o'clock in the morning, by putting on his boots, and asking for his horses, when two dragoons were led before him, who had arrived on foot from the direction of Corbeny, and announced that the corps of the Duke of Ragusa had been surprised and completely routed, that same night. At this news, Napoleon suspended the order for attack which had been transmitted to his generals; but the enemy, informed by couriers of the events of the night, now took the offensive, and, after an obstinate struggle, in which the division Charpentier valiantly sustained the honour of the French arms, the Emperor was compelled to think of a retreat. He left Chavignon, in the morning of the 11th, passed the whole of the 12th at Soissons—where he left the Duke of Treviso to restrain on this side the army of Blucher—and marched on Rheims, which General St. Priest, a Frenchman in the service of Russia, had just taken from General Corbineau. This town was retaken as soon as attacked; the Emperor entered it on the night of the 13th. Marmont, after rallying his troops, had rejoined him there, and taken part in the attack. Napoleon at first bitterly reproached him for having allowed himself to be surprised, and thus compromising the success of the day of the 10th before Laon; but soon resumed the tone of benevolence and affection to which he had accustomed the Marshal. Napoleon halted for three days at Rheims, and there divided his time between military combinations and administrative measures.

In the meantime, on the northern frontiers of France, General

Maison maintained the positions confided to his care; Carnot successfully resisted all the attempts of the English on Antwerp; and General Bizannet defeated Sir Thomas Graham, with considerable



slaughter and the loss of many prisoners, at Bergen-op-Zoom. In the south the prospects of Napoleon were overcast. Soult had been beaten at Orthez, and driven in disorder on Tarbes and Toulouse. Augereau could scarcely maintain himself at Lyons, and was preparing to evacuate that city, in order to take up his position behind the Isère. Bourdeaux had opened her gates to the English, and the Duke of Angoulême was expected there. The Count of Artois had arrived in Burgundy; and Schwartzberg, whom Macdonald and Oudinot were not strong enough to arrest, again threatened Paris, where the ardour and activity of the royalist committee was redoubled.

In this extreme situation the Emperor felt that he could only escape by a striking and decisive action, and he did not hesitate to direct the intended blow towards Schwartzberg, whose approach

already spread alarm throughout the capital. He, therefore, once more left to Marmont and Mortier the task of restraining Blücher, and preserving Paris from the side of the Aisne and Marne, and for fear they should be unable to fulfil this task with success, or that some hostile body should escape them, and surprise the seat of government, he commanded his brother Joseph, whom he had named his lieutenant-general, not to wait until the danger should be too imminent for him to set out and place the Empress and the King of Rome in safety. He then marched towards Eprenay, and by the way of Fère Champenoise and Mery, to take the Austrians in the rear, whom he supposed to have reached Nogent. On the 19th of March, he was at the gates of Troyes, and beat the enemy's rear-guard at the hamlet of Châtres, capturing a considerable quantity of baggage and several prisoners.

The Allied Sovereigns were filled with consternation at the movements of the Emperor. During the night of the 19th, a council of war was held, for determining future operations. The Czar proposed that the terms of peace demanded by Napoleon should be assented to; and Schwarzenberg, with the concurrence of a majority of those present, recommended a continuation of the retreat. So great was the terror generally prevailing, that Alexander is reported to have said that "he feared his anxiety would turn half his hair grey." Lord Castlereagh, whose diplomatic services had closed by the breaking up of the Congress of Chatillon, decided the wavering and pusillanimous counsels of the monarchs. This bold statesman fully comprehended the consequences of a retreat, and at once took upon himself the responsibility of stating, that the moment the Allies commenced a retrograde movement the subsidies of England would cease to be paid. This was conclusive. The Council, well knowing the consequences of thwarting the wishes of England at this crisis, finally resolved upon putting the army in motion next morning along the banks of the Aube, in order to effect a junction with Blücher before making a movement on Paris.

Napoleon resumed his march on the morning of the 20th; and, at an early hour, reached the heights of Arcis-sur-Aube. Here, to his great surprise, he encountered the entire army of Schwarzenberg, which was bearing in a mass for this town, in order to cross the Aube, and rapidly gain the plains of Champagne, where the junction was to be effected. This sudden change of system in the military operations of the Allies completely disarranged all the plans of the Emperor, who quickly perceived the difficult and perilous position in which he was placed. Nevertheless, he put a good face on the matter, and, as on so many other occasions, called on valour to supply the place of numbers, by casting into the struggle the weight of his own example. The fight, or rather series of skirmishes, continued throughout the day, during which Napoleon was several times exposed to great

danger. But notwithstanding the prodigious efforts of the French army, and the heroism of its chief, the battle of Arcis could not hinder the passage of the Aube by the Austrians. The Emperor retired in good order, after having done the enemy much harm, and held him in check for a whole day ; but Schwartzemberg ended by gaining the road which was to conduct him to Blücher.

Being no longer able to oppose the execution of the enemy's plans, Napoleon thought of disarranging in his turn the fresh combinations of the Allies, by seeking to drag them in spite of themselves into a new circle of operations, and holding himself on the limits of Champagne and Lorraine, whence he could, according to the march of events, collect the numerous garrisons of the east, organize the rising of the population, manœuvre in the rear of Schwartzemberg and Blücher, cut off their communications with the frontier, or, if the dangers of Paris required it, approach, so as to place them between his indefatigable army, and the not less intrepid troops of Marmont and Mortier. With this design, the Emperor took the direction of St. Dizier, where he slept on the 23rd. Caulaincourt rejoined him there, and announced the definite rupture of the negotiations. This news had been foreseen, since the pretensions of the Allies was no longer a mystery. However, the malcontents at head-quarters took the opportunity of murmuring more loudly than ever against the Emperor, whom, after the example of his embittered enemies, they still accused of the prolongation of the war. On the 24th, the Emperor marched on Doulevant, where he passed the whole of the 25th. The next morning, he returned to St. Dizier, in order to support his rear-guard, which was attacked by a body of the enemy, appertaining, as he believed, to the army of Schwartzemberg, but which was a detachment from Blücher, commanded by Wintzingerode. His presence saved the rear-guard. Wintzingerode was beaten, and pursued, in his flight, by the two roads of Vitry and Bar-le-Duc. But this feeble advantage could scarcely compensate for the total rout which the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso had sustained on the previous evening, at Fère-Champenoise. Now the road to Paris was open, without impediment : and they did not fail to follow it, and vigorously urge before them the remains of the army which they had just beaten.

As soon as Napoleon knew of the defeat of his lieutenants, and of the danger incurred by the capital, he did not hesitate to return with all speed to Paris. Leaving Doulevant, on the 29th at daybreak, he expedited General Dejean, his aide-de-camp, in order to announce to the Parisians that he flew to succour them ; and on the evening of the 30th, he was within five leagues of his capital, halting at Fromenteau, before accomplishing the final distance which separated him from his good city of Paris, when he was informed that it had just yielded, and that the enemy would enter on the following morning.

Arrested by this fatal news, he returned to Fontainebleau. Paris had indeed capitulated. The Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso, after the disaster of Fère Champenoise, had made vain efforts to stay the enemy.

On his approach, Joseph, acting upon the orders of Napoleon, had required the precipitate departure of the Empress and the King of Rome, despite the almost unanimous advice of the regency council; and this resolution had caused Talleyrand to say, "Now let every one save himself who can." It is added that Queen Hortense, afflicted at seeing the regent and her son abandon the capital to intriguers and conspirators, strongly pressed her to remain, and said with a prophetic conviction: "If you leave the Tuileries, you will never see them again." But Joseph, whom Cambacérès and Clarke supported against the opinion of the other members of the council, hurried away Maria Louisa. "One of the most astonishing circumstances of the moment," says the historian of the battle and of the Capitulation of Paris (Pons de L'Herault), "is undeniably the obstinacy with which the King of Rome refused to depart. This obstinacy was so great, that it became necessary to use violence in order to remove the young Prince. The cries of the infant King were heart-rending. He repeated several times: 'My father told me not to go away.' All the spectators shed tears. Let not the reader imagine that this is an anecdote invented to please; the painful scene was enacted before witnesses whose testimony is beyond doubt. It may have been that the young Prince was tutored what to say; but, at all events, it was astounding, from the choice of his expressions, and the manner in which he employed them."

After the departure of Maria Louisa and her son, preparations were made for the defence of Paris; but disorder reigned in all the administrations, and especially in that of war, the chief of which, the Duke of Feltre, conducted himself so strangely, that the gravest suspicions fell upon him. Arms were wanting on one side, ammunition on the other, and everywhere an invisible hand seemed to paralyze the defence and favour the invasion. Despite the mysterious hindrances which patriotism experienced, the National Guard, under the command of the brave Moncey, performed prodigies of valour on the day of the 30th of March. The pupils of Alfort, of the Imperial Guard, of the Polytechnic School, gloriously associated themselves with the National Guard. At the barrier of Clichy, in particular, the Allies met with a spirited resistance. The pattern of French soldiers, the venerable Moncey, was there, with his son, and Allent, the leader of his staff; celebrated artists and distinguished writers surrounded him and shared his perils.* "We have commenced well," he said to them, "let us

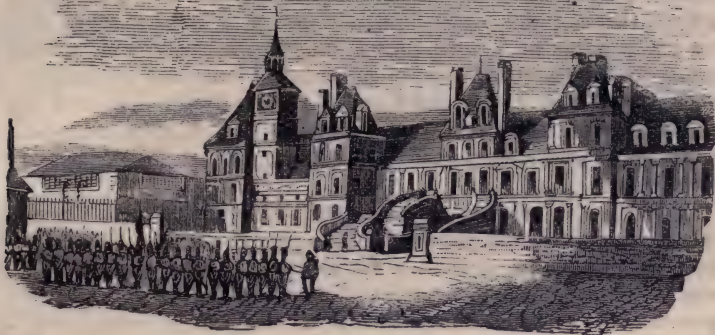
* Amongst the brave men who abandoned their pacific labours to hasten to the defence of their country, M. Pons de l'Herault mentions Emmanuel Dupaty, Charlet, Aubert, Maguin, and HORACE VERNET.

end well. This is our last entrenchment ; let us here make a final effort. Honour and the country demands it of us."

But courage was at length compelled to yield to numbers—not, however, until fourteen thousand slain and wounded of the invaders strewed the fields and gardens around Paris. Although Monecy again felt, at the barriers of Paris, the patriotic fervour of youth, others, who commenced like him, finished less nobly. Marmont allowed himself to be surrounded by the skilful manœuvres of the royalist committee. They persuaded him that the capital could only be saved by a capitulation, and, in order to save the capital, he delivered the Empire. On the 31st of March, 1814, the Allies triumphantly entered Paris, there to overthrow the throne of Napoleon ; and those who opened her gates to them, were the same men whom the Imperial statutes of the 30th of March, 1806, had constituted the hereditary supporters of the new dynasty.

Agreeably to the terms of surrender, Marmont and Mortier, early on the morning of the 31st, marched with all the troops of the line then quartered in Paris or the vicinity, towards the Loire ; and immediately afterwards a number of Royalists assembled in groups in the public squares, on the Boulevards, and in the gardens of the Tuileries, where they distributed large numbers of Bourbon proclamations and white bows, and endeavoured to raise the once familiar cry of "Vive le Roi !" The exhortations, however, though listened to without interruption, elicited no response. "The silence," says Sosthenes de Rochefoucauld, the principal royalist orator on the occasion, "was most dismal." The march of the Allies occupied several hours, and formed a scene such as had never before been witnessed in Paris.





CHAPTER XXX.

PARIS.—FONTAINEBLEAU.—TREACHERY OF MARMONT.—ABDICATION.—DEPARTURE FOR ELBA.—RESIDENCE THERE.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE BOURBONS.—TRIUMPHAL MARCH FROM CANNES.—THE EMPEROR RE-ENTERS PARIS. 1814—1815.



DECIDING before-hand on the course he intended to pursue, the Czar was no sooner settled in the hotel of Talleyrand, than he signified a desire to learn the sentiments of the French people as to the future government of the country; intimating, however, at the same time, that "he would have nothing further to do with the Emperor." Three courses, he said, were open; to establish a regency on behalf of the King of Rome; to elect Bernadotte to the throne; or to recall the Bourbons. Alexander himself advocated the cause of Bernadotte; but this was well understood to be merely a ruse—Nesselrode, the Russian Minister, having previously declared that Louis XVIII. would resume his sceptre. He was also well aware that the French people, supine as they appeared, would never submit to the domination of the adventurer who had borne arms against his country. "The only possible alternative," said Talleyrand, "is Bonaparte or the Bourbons. Louis XVIII. and Napoleon are principles—all else is intrigue." On the 1st of April, the Conservative Senate, convened by Talleyrand, met to appoint a Provisional Government. It consisted, besides himself, of General Beurnonville, Count Jaucourt, the Duke d'Alberg, and the Abbé Montesquieu. These appointments having been confirmed, and a new ministry installed, on the 2nd of April the Senate published a decree, which

declared Napoleon to have forfeited for himself and his family the Imperial throne; the people and the army of France were released from their oaths of fidelity; and the Provisional Government was decreed to be the only legally constituted existing authority. On the same day the Municipal Council of the Seine declared for the Bourbons, and overtures were made to the various marshals and generals who still surrounded Napoleon to induce them to desert their old master.

The Emperor, meanwhile, remained at Fontainebleau, where many of his principal officers joined him in order to exert such influence as they conceived to be necessary for their own interest upon the progress of affairs. On the night of the 2nd of April, the Duke of Vicenza came to announce to him that the Allies would not again treat with Napoleon himself, and demanded his abdication. At first, irritated and rendered indignant, he again wished to try the lot of arms; but all was dull and silent around him; his old companions in arms were now but the great dignitaries of a wavering monarchy, whose fall they were wholly unwilling to partake of. Many of them were already in correspondence with the Provisional Government; they, therefore, united in requesting that, for the peace of the country and his own safety, he should formally relinquish the crown, and by that personal sacrifice give repose to the world. The Emperor took the night for consideration, and on the 4th, after a long conference, he signed the following act of abdication:—

“The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend the throne, to relinquish France and even life for the good of the country, inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire.

“Done at our palace of Fontainebleau, 4th of April, 1814.

“NAPOLEON.”

Caulaincourt was charged to bear this act to Paris; Ney and Macdonald were to accompany him. Despite the capitulation of Paris, Napoleon wished that Marmont should be a party to the message, but he soon learnt that the Duke of Ragusa had joined the Allies. He denounced this treason to the army by an order of the day, in which he also scanned the conduct of the Senate. His plenipotentiaries did not succeed in their message. The shameful treaty which Marmont had just made with the Prince of Schwartzemberg enabled the Allies to be more exacting than ever. The Duke of Vicenza, therefore, only brought back to Fontainebleau the demand of a fresh abdication, which was to exclude from the throne the Imperial Prince and the entire family of Napoleon.

This proposition was indignantly repulsed by the Emperor. He

then thought seriously of continuing the war, and began to enumerate the resources which remained to him in the north, in the south, in the Alps, and in Italy. But his calculations, his hopes, his resolutions remained solitary ; and if any one broke the silence to reply to him, it was not a word of adhesion, of sympathy, or enthusiasm that was heard. Objections were poured in, and the picture of civil war was not spared him. The Emperor hesitated, his soul was a prey to all the perplexities of uncertainty : the idea of civil war, however, deeply agitated him, and presently he exclaimed : " Well ! since the idea of defending France any longer must be abandoned, does not Italy offer a retreat worthy of me ? Will you follow me once more ? Shall we march towards the Alps. At these words, the dull and careworn faces of his old comrades became more overcast. Napoleon perceived that the staff of Lodi and Arcola was no longer there to follow him, and that the hereditary dukes of the Imperial monarchy, after having tasted the softness of courts, had become weary of the asperities of the trade of arms. " Ah ! if in this moment," says Baron Fain, " Napoleon had indignantly passed into the room of the secondary officers, he would have found youth eager to respond to him ! a few



steps further, and he had been saluted at the foot of the stairs by the acclamations of all his soldiers ! their enthusiasm would have reanimated his soul ! But Napoleon fell beneath the habits of his reign ;

he fancied it would be impossible for him to succeed without the assistance of the great officers who had been associated with him in former achievements." At length, discouraged by the gloomy forebodings of his old comrades, he took up the pen, and at the end of a few minutes, he handed to Caulaincourt the act which the Allies had demanded of him. The Sovereigns were some time debating what should be the future destination of the dethroned monarch. At length the island of Elba was decided upon as his residence. A treaty was to regulate the destiny of the entire Imperial family. Napoleon, however, took offence at this, and had no desire that he should be proceeded with in this manner: "Of what use is a treaty," said he, "if they regulate with me that which concerns the interests of France?" He immediately sent couriers after Caulaincourt to withdraw his abdication. But it was too late. The treaty was signed on the 11th of April by the Allied Powers; and on the following day, the Count of Artois made his entry into Paris. He announced himself by a proclamation which promised the abolition of the conscription, and of the consolidated taxes. The Bourbons knew how much the popularity of Napoleon had been compromised by the indirect imposts and the prolongation of the war. They could not be ignorant that if manifestations of satisfaction and joy appeared in the south of France, it was the return of peace, as well as the hope of a reduction in the public charges, which provoked these demonstrations, rather than any sort of affection for the old dynasty. Their policy, therefore, consisted in first profiting by the faults of the Empire. To the cry:—"No more conscription! no more taxes!" was added the promise of liberal institutions, and the solemn engagement to respect and hold inviolable the material and moral interests of new France.

The night which followed the arrival of the Count of Artois in Paris was marked at Fontainebleau by an event of which time has not yet unveiled the mystery. An unusual agitation was perceived in the palace; the servants of Napoleon hastened to his chamber and seemed a prey to the utmost alarm; the physicians were sent for; his faithful friends Bertrand, Caulaincourt, and Maret were awakened. The Emperor, who had obstinately refused to sign the treaty of the 11th of April, and whose conversation had caused some sinister design to be apprehended, especially since he had learnt that they had refused permission to his wife and son to rejoin him, experienced such violent inward pains, that it was believed he had poisoned himself. However, the application of remedies which were eagerly offered him, presently cured the illustrious patient. The writers, who are inclined to believe in an attempt at suicide, pretend that he then said: "God does not wish it!" But persons in the service of the Emperor, some of whom followed him everywhere, have declared that the poignant sufferings of Napoleon, during this mysterious night, were but the natural result of the moral crisis which he had awaited for more than

ten days, and have wholly rejected the idea of an attempt at poisoning. It is said that the Duke of Bassano rendered a similar testimony.

However it may have been, the Emperor allowed nothing to appear of what he had suffered during the night. His levée passed as usual; only that he appeared more resigned than on the preceding evening, for he demanded the treaty which he had hitherto rejected, and affixed his signature to it. The Commissioners appointed by the Allied Powers to conduct the Emperor to Elba arrived at Fontainebleau on the 16th of April, but the arrangements for departure were not completed till the 19th, on the evening of which day the Mameluke Roustan and the confidential valet Constant, in imitation of their superiors, abandoned their old master. The Grand Marshal Bertrand, General Drouot, Cambrone, and a few other persons, remained faithful to the fallen potentate; and four hundred of the Imperial Guard obtained permission to accompany him in exile. Maria Louisa, who had received the visits of the sovereigns of Austria and Russia at Rambouillet, and who had been interdicted from proceeding to Fontainebleau, waited but to learn the departure of her husband, to allow herself sorrowfully to be conducted to Vienna, with the young prince her son.

On the 20th, at mid-day, the Emperor descended into the court *du Cheval Blanc*, which was lined by the Imperial Guard. There were but a few adherents left, amongst whom stood forth, prominently, the Duke of Bassano and General Belliard. At his approach, the hearts of the soldiers bounded, and their eyes filled with tears. The Emperor announced by a gesture that he would speak, and immediately the most profound silence reigned, when, in a firm, clear voice, he spoke as follows:—

“Generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers of my Old Guard, I bid your farewell! for twenty years, I have been pleased with you; I have always found you on the road to glory. The Allied Powers have armed all Europe against me; a portion of the army has betrayed its duties, and France herself has desired other destinies. With you and the brave men who have been true to me, I could have maintained a civil war for three years; but France would have been unhappy; and this was contrary to my wishes. Be faithful to the new King whom France has chosen; never abandon our dear country, too long unhappy! Do not pity my fate; I shall be always happy, if I know that you are so. I could have died; nothing would have been easier; but I would not cease to pursue the path of honour. I live to record the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all; but I will embrace your General. Come, General. (He folded General Petit in his arms). Let them bring me the eagle. (He kissed it) Dear eagle! may these kisses resound in the heart of every brave man! Adieu, my children! My prayers will always accompany you. Retain me in your memories.”

At these words the sobs of the soldiers broke forth ; all present were bathed in tears ; and the Emperor, not less moved, hastened to his carriage, where General Bertrand had already seated himself. The signal for starting was immediately given. Napoleon left Fontainebleau accompanied by the Grand Marshal, by Generals Drouot and Cambrone, and a few others who desired to associate themselves with the fidelity of these brave warriors. Everywhere, on the road, even to the confines of Provence, he heard around his carriage the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" This constancy of the people moved and consoled him. He then comprehended that, despite the unpopular tendency of certain acts which might have contributed to his fall, the Bourbons would not succeed in abolishing in France the veneration of his name.

In the evening of the 26th, he arrived near Luc, and slept at the house of a deputy of the Legislative Body, where he met with the Princess Pauline. The next day, he was at Frejus ; whence, at seven in the evening, he embarked, under a salute of twenty-one guns, in the British frigate, the '*Undaunted*,' for the place of his first exile. A French vessel had been prepared for his reception, but he refused to sail under the Bourbon flag.



After a pleasant voyage, the ship which conveyed Napoleon anchored off Elba on the 3rd of May, the same day that Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris. On the 4th, having previously landed incognito, he went on shore in form, as Sovereign of the island, under a royal salute from the English ship, and the discharge of a hundred guns from the batteries of Porto-Ferraio. He was

received on the beach by nearly the whole population, headed by the Governor, the Prefect, the Municipality, and the Clergy, who welcomed him with every demonstration of joy. The Austrian and British commissioners, Baron Kohler and Sir Niel Campbell, now expressed their intention to remain at Elba; the Russian and Prussian officers had taken leave at Frejus.

After the arrival of Napoleon at Elba his ever active mind was immediately applied to completing the fortification of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural resources of the island. A national flag was displayed, and the name of the capital changed from Porto-Ferrajo to Cosmopoli. When the Emperor received the visits of strangers, which often happened, he entered freely into conversation. Frequently he spoke of his last campaign, of his views and hopes, the defection of his Marshals, the capture of Paris, and his abdication, with great earnestness; exhibiting, in rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, indignation, and no small share of self-estimation. However, when the first impressions of novelty were effaced, his mind gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and more sleep. But his knowledge of the discussions of the congress of Vienna, with respect to his future disposal, and the treatment of the Empress and his son, soon roused him from this state. Hitherto he had evinced a decided preference for the society of Sir Niel Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; but having received a visit from some of his family and friends, he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British resident, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The increasing discontents of the French people had now come to his knowledge; the wheel of vicissitudes was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became instantly fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in his conduct, and the frequent intercourse he had opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of the continent, was not concealed from the principal governments of Europe. A corvette had also been assigned to him, to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruiser of any nation had any right to violate his flag. In fact, Sir Niel Campbell had not any authority for seizing or detaining Napoleon, if he thought proper to quit the island. His device, the *violet*, the secret symbol by which his friends denoted him, and knew each other, was extended on the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva. Rings of a violet colour, with a device, "It will re-appear in the spring," became fashionable.

Females wore violet-coloured silks, and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings.

In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Tuileries, and to disregard the warning voice so often sounded in their ears. Early in January, offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Napoleon; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with neglect. After the return of Napoleon, there were found in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquiou several successive communications from the Comte de Boutheliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread and unopened. The early part of these communications, dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent arrivals at, and departure of various persons from Elba. At Vienna also, the conduct of the illustrious exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand, and it certainly was in agitation to remove Napoleon to a situation more remote from his family and friends, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the grand catastrophe.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast with those made by the same personage some years before for the invasion of England. For the army that was now to invade France, one day's notice was all that was deemed necessary; instead of two hundred thousand men, here were considerably less than one thousand; the flotilla on board which they were embarked consisted of the 'Inconstant,' 26 guns, 'L'Etoile' and 'La Caroline' bombarded, and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one in the afternoon; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th of February the expedition, with the Emperor and his staff on board the 'Inconstant,' sailed from the island at the signal of a single gun. Everything had been for some time in motion; crowds of old men, women, and children, eagerly rushed to the shore, and thronged round the faithful companions of Napoleon, contending with each other for the honour of touching them, seeing and embracing them for the last time.

The French rushed into their boats, martial music struck up, and the flotilla sailed majestically from the shore amid the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Napoleon, when he set his foot on board the vessel was calm and serene, only exclaiming, with Cæsar, "the die is cast!" Count Bertrand's eyes sparkled with hope and joy: Drouot and Gourgaud were pensive and serious. The old grenadiers resumed their martial aspect, and Napoleon chattered and joked with them incessantly. All were burning to know their destination, but none dared to ask the question. At length Napoleon broke silence:

"Grenadiers," said he, "we are going to France; we are going to Paris." At these words every countenance expanded. An English sloop of war, under Captain Campbell, which seemed to have charge of watching the Island of Elba, at the moment of embarkation was at



Leghorn; however, several vessels were in sight, and excited some apprehensions. These were soon increased by a calm, and at day-break the flotilla was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea, having advanced no more than six leagues. About noon the wind freshened a little, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. A frigate and a man-of-war brig were still in sight, and the latter was coming down upon the Imperial flotilla, right before the wind. The Emperor ordered the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps and go below. At six o'clock the French brig 'Le Zephir' passed alongside the 'Inconstant,' and the Captain enquired after the Emperor, when he was answered by Napoleon himself, that the Emperor was extremely well. The other brig and the 'Zephir' now steered different courses, without the least suspicion of the valuable prize which they had suffered to escape.

Before Napoleon had left Elba he had prepared two proclamations;

one addressed to the French people, the other to the army. They were couched in his usual animated style, and dated Gulf of Juan, March 1st, 1815. On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they entered the Gulf of Juan. At five the Emperor landed, and took up his head-quarters for the night in a field surrounded with olives. "This," Napoleon exclaimed, "is a happy omen: may it be realized!" Among a few peasants that appeared, was one who had formerly served under Napoleon, and knowing him, would not quit him. "See," said the Emperor to Bertrand, "we have got a reinforcement already." He spent the evening chatting and laughing familiarly with his guards.

Five-and-twenty men who had been sent forward to Antibes, to sound the garrison, under the pretext that they were deserters from Elba, behaved so imprudently, that the French commandant of the garrison ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and detained them as prisoners. Napoleon finding they did not return, dispatched an officer to the walls of Antibes, to harangue the soldiers; but he found the gates of the town and the harbour both closed, and that it was not possible to see General Corsin, or to speak to the soldiers. Napoleon, though a little disconcerted at this event, began his march at eleven at night, with four small pieces of artillery in his train. He proceeded to Cannes, thence to Grasses, and in the evening of the 2nd arrived at the village of Cerenon. On the 3rd he slept at Bareme, and at Digne on the 4th. The peasants blessed his return; but when they saw his little troop, they looked on with pity, and very little hope. On the 5th he slept at Gap, and here first printed his proclamations, which were distributed with the rapidity of lightning.

In these proclamations he styled himself Emperor, as he knew that any other title would only weaken his authority. On the 6th, at two in the afternoon, he left Gap, and the whole city went to see him set off. At St. Bonnet the inhabitants proposed sounding the alarm bell to collect the neighbouring villagers, and accompany him in a body, but Napoleon declined the offer: on the same night he slept at Gorp. Three leagues from Gorp the Emperor found a battalion of the 5th regiment, a company of sappers, &c., in all seven or eight hundred men, opposed to him. Napoleon, alighting from his horse, marched straight to the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms secured. "What, my friends," said he to them, "do you not know me? I am your Emperor; if there be a soldier among you who is willing to kill his General, his Emperor, he may do it: here I am," and he placed his hand upon his breast. "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was the answer, in an unanimous shout.

A division of royalists continued to cover Grenoble, which the soldiers who had now joined Napoleon being anxious to march against, their request was granted. Before they had reached Vizille the crowd of inhabitants increased every instant; but between this and

Grenoble an adjutant-major came to announce that Colonel Labedoyère had separated from the troops at Grenoble, and was hastening with his regiment to the Emperor. Soon after loud shouts were heard at a distance; the soldiers, when they approached, being impatient to join, broke their ranks, and nothing was heard but "The guard for ever! the 7th for ever!" Napoleon thus seeing his forces and the public spirit increasing every step, resolved to enter Grenoble that very evening, when, before he reached the city, a young merchant, an officer of the National Guard, offered his services and a hundred thousand francs. Further on he was joined by a party of officers, by whom he learned that General Marchand and the prefect of Grenoble had declared against him, drawn the troops into the town, and closed the gates; and that the ramparts were covered by the third regiment of engineers, composed of two thousand sappers, all veterans covered with honourable scars; by the fourth artillery of the line, some battalions of the 5th, and hussars of the 4th. Napoleon, however, and his party, with their arms reversed, and marching with joyful irregularity, approached the walls shouting. The garrison, the National Guard, and the town's-people spread over the ramparts, beheld at first with surprise and emotion these transports of joy and attachment; and it was not long before they partook of them: the besiegers and the besieged uttered at once the rallying words. "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The people and the soldiers rushed to the gates, which were in an instant beaten down, and Napoleon, surrounded, thronged by an idolizing crowd, made his triumphant entry into Grenoble. Soon after the people came and brought him the fragments of the gates, with trumpets sounding, and said, "for want of the keys of the good town of Grenoble, here are the gates for you."

The news of the Emperor's landing did not reach Paris till the 5th of March, at night. It transpired on the 6th, and on the 7th a royal proclamation appeared in the *Moniteur*, convoking the chambers immediately. A decree was also issued, placing Napoleon and all who should join him, out of the protection of the law. When Napoleon approached the city of Lyons, he found the Count D'Artois with Marshal Macdonald, determined, as he was told, to defend the place; however, as at Grenoble, he was received with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" by the immense population as well as by the troops. On the 16th the Emperor slept at Avalon; and here an officer of the staff came and brought Marshal Ney's submission, and his orders of the day, in which he announced to the troops, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever; that liberty was at length triumphant; and that their august Emperor was about to confirm it, and would be at Paris in a few days.

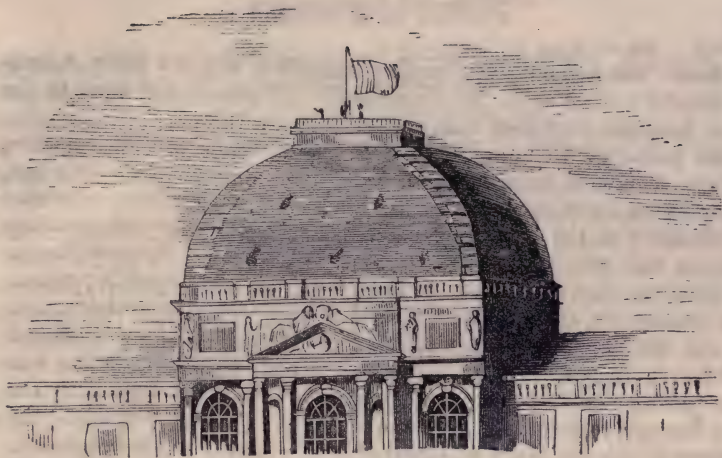
At two o'clock on the 20th of March, Napoleon set out for Paris; but retarded by the crowd, and the felicitations of the troops and the generals who came to meet him, he could not reach it till nine in the

evening. As soon as he alighted the people rushed on him : a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him along in triumph to the Tuileries.

The Emperor, though greatly fatigued by nocturnal marches, reviews, perpetual harangues, and labours in the closet, which had, for thirty-six hours, occupied all his attention, determined, nevertheless, on reviewing the troops which had previously composed the army of the duke of Berri. Previous to the morning of the 20th of March, the nights had been rainy, and the days sombre and cloudy ; when, as if some secret fatality attended Napoleon (a circumstance, too, which produced a strong effect upon many minds), the 20th of March being the anniversary of the birth of the young King of Rome, was ushered in by a brilliant sun, while the entry of his parent to the capital was no less saluted by a cloudless eve. On the 21st, the radiant luminary of the day entered upon the equinox ; and the whole population of the capital, actuated by a variety of sentiments, directed their steps towards the Tuileries.

At the hour of twelve o'clock the grand review in the Place Carrousel commenced, being composed of all the troops then in Paris. The Emperor having passed through every rank, the regiments formed themselves into square battalions, and Napoleon harangued them in stirring language, exciting the wildest enthusiasm among the soldiers. At the termination of the review, General Cambrone entered the Place Carrousel, at the head of the battalion of the island of Elba, carrying the Imperial eagles. This corps having quitted Essonne during the night, in order to be present at the review, had in the short space of eighteen days marched from the Gulf of Juan to Paris, a distance which generally occupies forty-five days to achieve. Turning to the approaching veterans, Napoleon exclaimed : " Behold the officers of the battalion which accompanied me in my misfortunes. They are all my friends. They are dear to my heart ! Each time that I behold them, they represent to me the different regiments of the army ; for, in these six hundred brave soldiers, there are men from all regiments. All remind me of those days the memory of which is so dear, for all are covered with honourable scars received in those memorable battles. Soldiers of the French army, in loving them, I love you all. They bring you your eagles ! May they serve you as a rallying point ! Swear that they shall always be found wherever the interest of the country calls them ; may traitors and those who wish to invade our territory be unable to endure their appearance ! " The soldiers replied : " We swear ! " Then defiling before the Emperor, the band struck up the revolutionary air, "*Veillons au salut de l'empire.*"

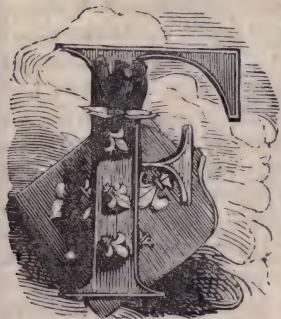




CHAPTER XXXI.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE.—MILITARY PREPARATIONS.—CHAMP-DE-MAI.—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES.—THE EMPEROR QUITS PARIS.—L GNY.—QUATREBRAS—WATERLOO.—RETURN TO PARIS—SECOND ABDICATION.—LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT.—NAPOLEON EMBARKS ON BOARD THE BELLEROPHON.—IS SENT TO ST. HELENA. 1815.



RANCE, it was now generally admitted, owed the recovery of her Emperor to the great body of the people. Napoleon himself was not slow to acknowledge this; and one of his first acts of government was to call around him the old leaders of the democracy. Fouché had been previously appointed Minister of Police; Carnot was now installed in the Home Office; and Benjamin Constant was nominated member of the Council of State. Still the Emperor appears to

have had a jealous fear of the designs of the Constitutionalists; and the concessions he made to their wishes were rather extorted from his necessities than conferred of free will, or with any faith in the stable friendship of those to whom he found himself compelled to trust.

The replies of the Emperor to the various authorities who hurried to offer their felicitations, bore all the stamp of the liberal spirit of which he avowed the revival and the actual predominance, and which he consented to accept as an auxiliary. "Everything for the nation and everything for France!" said he to his ministers, "that is my

motto." He did not even confine himself to words ; for, by a decree of the 24th of March, he suppressed the censorship of the press. This measure provoked many objections on the part of the courtiers. "My faith, gentlemen," he said to them "that is your affair; for myself, I have nothing to fear; I defy any one to print more on my account than has been said of me in the last year."

Meanwhile, the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême had endeavoured to raise the south in favour of the royal cause. The Duchess of Angoulême had displayed, in Bordeaux, so much activity, courage, and constancy, that Napoleon said of her, "She was the only man of the family." Still her efforts could avail nothing against the course of events: General Clausel arrived, and constrained her to quit Bordeaux without fighting, to take refuge for the second time in a foreign country. The Duke of Angoulême had fallen into the hands of General Gilly at Lapalud, and found himself a prisoner, at Pont St. Esprit, at the disposal of the Emperor, whose decision, in regard to this prince, was anxiously awaited by the friends of the Bourbons. The recollection of the order which had placed Napoleon without the pale of the law, was well calculated to render the royalists uneasy, who might fear terrible reprisals. The Emperor made known his resolution to General Grouchy by a letter which granted the prince the liberty of withdrawing from the country, and which thus permitted him to again wage war against Napoleon and against France.

An event, however, of the highest importance was taking place beyond the Alps. Murat, threatened by the congress of Vienna, attempted to raise Italy against Austria. This rising made the monarchs believe that the Emperor had not left the Island of Elba until after becoming reconciled with his brother-in-law, and that they had planned their double attempt together. It required no more to render the cabinet of Vienna deaf to all pacific proposals of Napoleon: therefore the Austrian ministers adhered without hesitation, and remained invariably attached to the clause in the treaty of the 25th of March, 1815, by which the coalition was reconstituted more compactly than ever, and engaged not to lay down arms until after having again destroyed the throne which the Emperor had just re-established in so extraordinary a manner. This misfortune caused Napoleon to say in his memoirs: "Twice a prey to the strangest fancies, the King of Naples was twice the cause of our misfortunes; in 1814, by declaring himself against France, and in 1815, by declaring himself against Austria."

Although the Emperor had but slight hopes of being able to detach Austria from the coalition, and induce the other powers to disarm, he renewed the official attempts which he had so often made, whether as consul or monarch, in order to incline his enemies to peace, and to throw upon them, in any case, the responsibility of the war. With

this view, he wrote a letter to each of the sovereigns. The Allied Monarchs not only disdained replying to this overture: he French plenipotentiaries were not even admitted to present their letters. The Emperor then saw that it was requisite to hasten and prepare seriously for the war.

Napoleon had entrusted to Benjamin Constant, and a Committee of the Ministers, the task of preparing the basis of a new Constitution; and after inspecting their labour, he submitted the result to a Council of State and the whole administration. At the close of the debate, the Emperor suggested the idea of not submitting the documents to public debate, but merely presenting it as an Additional Act to the preceding Constitutions, which idea was strenuously opposed by his Ministers, who remonstrated with the Emperor, alleging that such was not the line of conduct promised to France; that a new Constitution was expected, purged from all despotic acts of the Senate; and it behoved him, as he valued the safety of the throne, to act in conformity with his pledge, or prepare to lose the confidence of his people for ever. Napoleon promised to reflect; but after weighing the observations thus submitted to him, he persisted in pursuing the line of conduct first decided upon; and on the following day appeared in the *Moniteur* the *Additional Act*, to which may be attributed, in a great measure, the ultimate downfall of the Emperor. This Additional Act did not answer the general expectation. The public had hoped to receive from Napoleon a new Constitution, freed from the faults and abuses of those that had preceded it; and was therefore surprised, grieved, and dissatisfied, on witnessing in the very preamble of the modification of those former constitutions, decrees of the Senate, and other acts, whereby the empire had been governed.

Favourable votes, indeed, were not wanting to this ill fated supplement to the constitutions of the Empire; but it made a sorrowful impression on public opinion, and the popular enthusiasm, so universal and so ardent in the month of March, had already much cooled on the approach of the *Champ de Mai*.

However, some patriotic associations had been formed in the empire in order to support the interests of democracy, and watch over the defence of the territory. Paris had her federated bodies of the city and suburbs. Those of the faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine came to offer their aid to the Emperor, demanded arms of him, giving expression to sentiments which his ear had formerly been little used to.

The assembled electors at Paris having taken the votes on the Additional Act, a central deputation presented the result thereof to the Emperor, in the assembly of the *Champ de Mai*. Thirteen hundred thousand citizens had accepted this act; four thousand had rejected it. Napoleon replied to the President of the deputation by a speech which was the only remarkable incident of this great

national day, pompously announced as a new era of regeneration, and afterwards reduced to the dwarfish proportions of a mere scrutiny of votes.

On the 4th, the Session of the Legislative Body opened. La Fayette and Lanjuinais had re-appeared in this assembly, and the influence which they exercised over it from the first sitting sufficed to indicate the direction and the spirit of it. Lanjuinais had been elevated to the presidency, and was charged to express to the Emperor the sentiments of the national representation, for which purpose he repaired to the Tuileries at the head of a deputation, in order to lay at the foot of the throne an address containing the wishes of the assembly, and to which Napoleon replied in these terms:—"The Constitution is our rallying point; it should be our polar star in these stormy moments. All public discussion, tending to diminish, directly or indirectly, confidence in its dispositions, would be an evil to the state. We are now in the midst of the waves, without compass and without a guide. The crisis at which we have arrived is great. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions, at the moment when the battering ram was forcing the gates of the city."

England had by this time effected a loan of thirty millions, and this being circulated among the Allies, enabled them to send forward their troops towards the French frontiers with the utmost activity. The Congress had been removed from Vienna to Frankfort, to be near the seat of war. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians were advancing upon the route of Switzerland. Another army of the same nation menaced the Upper Rhine. Two hundred thousand Russians were marching on Alsace. One hundred and fifty thousand Prussians, with about eighty thousand British, Dutch, Belgians, and Hanoverians, occupied Flanders. When to these were added the various contingents of the petty states of Germany, the total number of men mustered for the dethronement of Napoleon was found to amount to one million and eleven thousand. To meet this gigantic array, the Emperor, with all his exertions, had been able to raise the French army to only five hundred and fifty-nine thousand men. But even of this force not more than two hundred and seventeen thousand were fully armed, clothed, and disciplined.

Napoleon quitted the capital on the 12th of June, and marched towards the Belgian frontier. On the 11th he arrived at Avesnes, where he published the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! This is the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the fate of Europe; then, as after the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous! We trusted to the protestations and oaths of the princes, whom we left on the thrones! Now united against us, they aim at the independence, the most sacred rights of

France. They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. Let us then march to meet them; are not they and we still the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, against these very Prussians, now so arrogant, you were but one to three, and at Montmirail one to six! Let those among you who were made prisoners by the British, give an account of their hulks, and the dreadful miseries they endured. The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, and the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, groan at being obliged to lend their arms to espouse the cause of princes, enemies to justice and those rights common to all people. They know that this coalition is insatiable. After having enchained twelve millions of Polanders, the same number of Italians, a million Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it would now subjugate all the states of the second order in Germany. Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The humiliating of the French people, however, is beyond their power! If they enter France, they will find their graves. Soldiers, we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, hazards to run; but with firmness victory will be ours: the rights, honour, and happiness of our country will be re-conquered. To every Frenchman possessing a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or to die!"

The plan of the campaign adopted by the Emperor was worthy the courage of the French, and the high reputation of their chief. Napoleon was aware that the army of Wellington was dispersed over the country from the borders of the sea to Nivelles: that the right of the Prussians rested on Charleroi; while the residue of their army was stationed in echelons indefinitely as far as the Rhine. He judged that the enemy's lines were too much extended; and that it would be practicable, by not giving them time to close, to separate the two armies, and in succession fall upon their troops thus surprised. For that purpose he had united all his cavalry into a single body of twenty thousand horse, with which he intended to dart like lightning amidst the enemy's cantonments. If victory favoured such a bold stroke, the centre of the French army would occupy Brussels on the second day, while the corps of the right and left drove the Prussians to the Meuse and the English to the Scheldt. Belgium being conquered, Bonaparte would have armed the malcontents, and marched from success to success as far as the Rhine, where he would again have solicited peace. On the 14th during the night, the French army, whose operations the Emperor had taken every precaution to conceal, was to commence its march: nothing indicated that the enemy was aware of the irruption, and all appearances promised the grandest results; when Napoleon ascertained that General Bourmont, with Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had gone over to the enemy with all his plans. When the news of this defection reached head-quarters, the Emperor, immediately approaching Ney, said to him: "Well, Marshal, what say you of your *protégé*?"

—"Sire," replied the bravest of the brave, "I would have relied upon Bourmont as upon myself,"—"Go, Marshal," resumed Napoleon, "the blues will be ever blues, and the whites ever whites."

The campaign was opened on the 15th, by the battle of Fleurus. The Prussians were defeated; and lost five pieces of cannon and two thousand men. This success of the advanced-guard cost the French army one of its most valiant officers; General Letort, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, received a mortal wound in the abdomen, whilst charging at the head of the squadrons.

This engagement left a gap in the lines of the Allies of between three and four leagues; and Napoleon resolved to press onwards in order to separate entirely the English and Prussian armies. Ney received orders to advance with forty thousand men by the chaussée of Brussels to Quatre-Bras, a point of considerable importance from its intersecting the branching roads between Brussels and Charleroi, and Nivelles and Namur; but the Marshal, hearing a cannonade in the direction of Fleurus, detached nearly half his troops to that quarter, and was compelled to halt at Frasnes, for want of a sufficient force to dislodge the Nassau regiments which held that position, as part of the army of Wellington. The English commander, who was then at Brussels, had remained wholly ignorant of the advance of the French until six o'clock in the evening of the 15th. He immediately directed that every man should hold himself in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and, in order to avoid exciting alarm among the inhabitants, he, the Duke of Brunswick, and many British officers, attended a ball given that evening at the residence of the Duchess of Richmond. About eleven at night authentic accounts were received of the operations of Napoleon, upon which orders were given for the soldiers to march upon Quatre-Bras. Before sun-rise the whole British army was in motion; and Wellington hastened across the country to Bry, where, in a conference with Blucher, a plan of operations was concerted between them.

On the morning of the 16th Ney attacked the English position at Quatre-Bras, and was at first successful. The Belgian and Nassau regiments were driven from all their positions; and the British infantry suffered severely from repeated attacks of lancers and dragoons, before they could form into squares. Wellington, however, having received reinforcements, the French were repulsed. Had Ney brought up his whole strength at the outset, there is little doubt he would have overwhelmed the enemy; but, as it was, the Duke remained in possession of Quatre-Bras at night-fall, and was afterwards enabled, on learning that Blucher had been defeated at Ligny, to retreat without molestation towards Brussels. The loss of the British and their Allies in this engagement was about five thousand men, including the Duke of Brunswick. The French loss has generally been estimated as about equal.

In the meantime, the Emperor, at daybreak on the 16th, having reconnoitred the positions of Blucher, arrayed his troops for battle. It was three o'clock, however, before all was in readiness for the assault, when the several corps advanced upon the different points assigned to them, and a furious battle commenced. The village of Ligny was four times taken and retaken, and possession of St. Amand was gallantly contested; but the latter was finally captured by General Gerard, who fell mortally wounded in the moment of victory. Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny must render the French masters of the field, returned to the charge with a body of chosen troops. For five hours, two hundred pieces of cannon deluged the field with slaughter, blood and death, during which period the French and Prussians, alternately vanquished and victors, disputed that ensanguined post hand to hand and foot to foot. At length the Imperial Guard, supported by the heavy cavalry and several field-pieces, succeeded in ascending the heights of Ligny; and, piercing the enemy's line, drove them thence in great disorder, and successively frustrated all their efforts to rally till they had reached Tilly, on the line of the river Dyle. In this terrible battle the French and Prussians were stimulated by deadly personal hatred against each other. Few asked or received quarter on either side, so that at the close of the day the slaughter was immense. The Prussians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, lost between twenty and twenty-five thousand men; they left also in the hands of the French forty pieces of cannon and eight stand of colours. The total loss of the French was but six thousand nine hundred and fifty men. In the retreat Blucher himself narrowly escaped. His horse was killed by a cannon shot, and he thrown upon the ground, in which position his own cavalry and a body of French cuirassiers passed over him. He owed his safety to the darkness of the night alone.

At day-break, on the 17th, Grouchy, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled in two columns by way of Tilly and Gembloux, with orders to proceed to Wavres. About seven in the morning the Emperor galloped forward with Count Lobau's cavalry towards Quatre-Bras, which place he expected to find in possession of Ney; the latter, however, had not been able to retrieve his error of the 16th, and remained facing the position of the British, although now occupied only by their rear-guard, which made off as soon as its commander perceived the approach of Lobau's horsemen. Pursuit was immediately given, Napoleon hoping that he might yet be able to overtake and defeat the English. In consequence of the state of the roads, from the heavy rains, it was near four o'clock before the retreating columns reached the plain of Waterloo, and nearly seven before the troops were in position on the rising ground in front of Mont St. Jean.

That night the English bivouacked on the field they were to main-

tain in the battle of the morrow. Between six and seven, Napoleon reached Planchenois; and perceiving the enemy established in position, fixed his head-quarters at the farm of Cailloux, and posted his followers on the heights around La Belle Alliance. The reinforcements received by the Duke of Wellington during the 16th and 17th, had raised his army to seventy-five thousand men, and about two hundred and forty pieces of cannon; it must, however, be borne in mind, that the Duke could not depend on the Belgian, Nassau, and Hanoverian troops.

About ten o'clock at night, Napoleon sent a despatch to Grouchy, to announce that the Anglo-Belgian army had taken post in advance of the forest of Soignes, with its left resting on the hamlets of La Haye and Ohain, where Wellington seemed determined on the next day to give battle: Grouchy was, therefore, required to detach from his corps, about two hours before day-break, a division of seven thousand men, and sixteen pieces of artillery, with orders to proceed to St. Lambert; and, after putting themselves in communication with the right of the Grand Army, to operate on the left of the British. At the same time, it was intimated that as soon as Blucher should evacuate Wavres, Grouchy should leave the pursuit, and march with the rest of his corps to the support of the detachment at St. Lambert. Shortly after this messenger had been sent towards Wavres, a letter from Grouchy, dated at Gembloux, at five o'clock that evening, was received by the Emperor, informing him that the Marshal had been unable to follow the Prussians, being uncertain whether they had proceeded towards Wavres or Liége. He had, indeed, marched but two leagues since morning. When, at length, Grouchy put his corps in motion, it was too late to effect the purpose for which he had been sent.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Wellington being in communication with Blucher, was promised by him that the Prussian army should advance to support the British on the morning of the 18th. The rain, which had not ceased during the night, cleared off about five o'clock in the morning; and at eight it was reported by the officers, who had been sent to inspect the field, that the ground was practicable for artillery. The Emperor instantly mounted his horse, and rode forward towards La Haye-Sainte to reconnoitre the British line, and ordered an engineer to approach nearer to see if any entrenchments had been thrown up during the night. When informed that no appearance of fortifications existed, he is reported to have exclaimed: "Ha! I have them, then—these English!"

The Duke of Wellington had determined, according to the plan of operations agreed on between him and Blucher, to act upon the defensive until the arrival of the Prussian army, which was expected about noon. The English were divided into two lines; the first consisted of the troops most to be relied on; and the second, of those

whose zeal and fidelity were doubtful, or who had suffered most in the battle of Quatre-Bras. The cavalry, disposed in three lines, guarded the rear. The right wing extended to the village of Merke-Braine, near Braine-la-Leud; the centre rested on the heights of Mont St. Jean; and the left was supported by the hamlet of Ter-la-Haye. The château and gardens of Hougomont on the right, and the farm-house of La Haye-Sainte in front, were occupied by strong detachments, as important points of defence.

By half-past ten o'clock the two armies were arrayed, and impatient for orders to commence the battle. The Emperor proceeded to the heights of Rosomme, where he dismounted to obtain a clear view of the whole field; and there stationed his guard, as a reserve, to act where emergency might require. Meanwhile, the English remained silent and steady, waiting the commands of their chief; who, with telescope in hand, stood beneath a tree, near the cross-road, in front of his position, watching the movements of his opponents.

About noon, Prince Jerome, who had the command of the left wing of his brother's army, began the engagement by an impetuous charge on the position of Hougomont, and speedily drove thence the Nassau troops. The château and gardens, however, were bravely defended by a division of English guards, who were not to be dislodged; and Jerome, masking the point, pushed on with his cavalry and artillery against Wellington's right. The Belgian and Nassau soldiers gave way here also, but the firmness of the British infantry, the steady and continuous stream of the musketry, and the skilfully directed fire of the artillery, defied all the efforts of the assailants; and after a desperate contest, Jerome was compelled to retire, leaving the English still masters of Hougomont, who at once strengthened and reinforced the position. The fight, nevertheless, raged here more or less during the day, till at length the château was set on fire by the shells of the French, and it was found necessary to abandon it.

Napoleon, who was anxiously watching the first movement of his troops, was interrupted by an aide-de-camp, sent by Ney, who had been charged to attack the enemy's centre, arriving at full gallop to announce that everything was in readiness, and the Marshal only waiting the signal to attack. For a moment the Emperor glanced round the field, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert, a moving cloud advancing on the left of the English: pointing it out to Soult, he asked whether he conceived it to be Grouchy or Blucher? The Marshal being in doubt, Generals Domont and Subervie were despatched with three divisions of light cavalry, with orders to clear the way in the event of its being Grouchy, and if Blucher, to keep him in check. It was shortly afterwards ascertained from a Prussian hussar, who was taken prisoner, and from a letter which he bore, that the column at St. Lambert was Bulow's advanced guard, who was rapidly following with thirty thousand men; and that Blucher

still remained at Wavres, where Grouchy had not yet appeared. An officer was immediately despatched to urge the arrival of Grouchy, and Lobau, with two divisions, was sent to support Domont in keeping the Prussians in check; their instructions being to charge furiously, the instant Grouchy should appear.

Ney was then ordered to march to the attack of La Haye-Sainte; after taking that post with the bayonet, and leaving a division of infantry, he was to proceed to the farms of Papelotte and La Haye, and place his troops between those of Wellington and Bulow. With his usual promptitude, the Prince of the Moskowa had in a few moments opened a battery of eighty cannon upon the left centre of the English line. The havoc occasioned by this deadly fire was so immense, that Wellington was obliged to draw his men to the reverse slope of the hill on which they had stood, in order to screen them from its effects. The Count d'Erlon, under cover of the fire, advanced along the Genappe road: but as they ascended the position of La Haye-Sainte, the Duke of Wellington directed against them a charge of cavalry, which speedily drove one column back into the hollow. The English guards were in turn repulsed by a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and galloping onwards, attacked the infantry; the horsemen not being able to make an impression on the squares formed for their reception, while they were themselves exposed to an incessant fire of musketry. One of D'Erlon's unbroken columns pushed forward, meanwhile, beyond La Haye-Sainte, upon which it made no attack, and charging one Belgian and three Dutch regiments, drove them from their posts in disorder, and took possession of the heights. Sir Thomas Picton was now sent to dislodge the enemy, and being supported by a brigade of heavy cavalry, the French, after firing a volley, paused, wheeled, and fled in confusion. Many were cut down by the Guards; while seven guns, two eagles, and about two thousand prisoners were taken. The British, however, pursued their success too far; and becoming involved among the infantry, were attacked by a body of cuirassiers, in their turn broken, and forced to retire with great loss, leaving the captured guns to their new assailants, and giving the infantry an opportunity of re-forming their ranks. The Emperor himself led the charge that dispersed this brigade of English cavalry, in which General Devaux was killed, and L'Allemand wounded. Here also fell the English Generals, Picton and Sir William Ponsonby.

Although for the time, Ney was deprived of his artillery, he continued to advance upon La Haye-Sainte. For three hours, this important position, and the part of the field which it commanded, was hotly contested by both parties, the hill being now held by the English, and now by the French. The contest, which shortly extended itself along the whole front of the British line, became of the most desperate character. Whole battalions fell as they stood in line; and

the cries and groans of the wounded and dying were heard even above the incessant roll of the musketry, and the thunder of the artillery.

Napoleon, who had returned to the rising ground to watch the progress of the battle, fancying he beheld indications of the enemy's retreat, ordered Kellerman to advance with all his cuirassiers immediately, to support the cavalry between Mont St. Jean and La Haye-Sainte. The dragoons galloping forward, drove the English from their guns, and furiously charged the squares of infantry behind. For a time the cannon was in possession of the French, but so tremendous a fire was maintained by the British infantry, that they could neither secure nor spike the pieces: when the cavalry retired, the artillerymen issuing from the squares in which they had taken refuge, instantly manned their guns, and poured a destructive volley



of grape-shot upon the foe. Notwithstanding the deadly shower which thinned their ranks, the cuirassiers appeared determined to succeed in their purpose: and returned to the charge again and again,

riding round the squares, and penetrating even to the second British line. The infantry, however, was immoveable; and after sustaining frightful carnage, the cuirassiers were compelled to retire. The conflict now rather abated, until nearly six o'clock, and the chiefs of each army were anxiously expecting reinforcements. Domont, Lobau, and Subervic had effectually checked Bulow on the French right; but there was no sign of Grouchy making his appearance, and it was soon discovered that Blucher had come up with the main body of his army, and that the French opposed to him could not maintain their ground. News was received from Grouchy, that instead of leaving Gembloux at day-break, according to his previously-stated intentions, he had delayed there till half-past nine, and then pursued the road to Wavres, being unacquainted with the Emperor's engagement at Waterloo. No assistance could, therefore, be expected from Grouchy, till after six in the evening. As it was of the utmost importance that Blucher's junction with Wellington should be prevented, orders were despatched to Lobau, to use every effort to restrain the advance of the Prussians. Duhesme was also sent with eight thousand of the Young Guard, and twenty-four field pieces, towards Planchenois, upon which village, Lobau must necessarily fall back, if hard pressed. This feeble army could not long arrest the progress of Blucher; and the dark masses of the Prussians were shortly afterwards seen debouching upon the plain from the Wavres road.

The crisis of the battle now approached, and Napoleon saw that nothing but the most consummate skill and desperate valour could save his army from ruin. His preparations were, therefore, commenced for the final struggle. A series of movements, changing the whole front of his army, so as to face both Prussians and English, was the result of his first orders. The left wing was brought nearer to La Belle Alliance by being withdrawn from Hougomont. Kellerman and Milhaud's cavalry were ordered to fall back from Mont St. Jean, and Duhesme and Lobau to continue their retreat, and range in lines above Planchenois; General Pelet was to hold that village, and support the movement. At the same time, a report was spread along the lines that Grouchy was approaching, and that courage and perseverance would shortly insure a victory.

Napoleon next formed the infantry of the Imperial Guard, which had not yet been brought into action, at the foot of the position of La Belle Alliance, into two columns, and led them forward in person, to a ravine which crossed the Genappe road, in front of the British lines. Here he relinquished the command to Ney, at the entreaty of his officers; the Marshal, who had had five horses shot under him during the day, advanced on foot. A heavy discharge of artillery announced that they were in motion; the British guns soon commenced a most destructive firing on the troops, which committed dreadful havoc. Although their numbers were thinned at every

step, the guards continued to advance, and soon gained the rising ground of Mont St. Jean, where the English awaited their assault. The French bands played the Imperial march, and the troops rushed on with loud shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" The Belgian, Dutch, and Brunswick troops gave way instantly, and the Duke of Wellington was compelled to rally them in person. Before the Imperial guard could deploy, he gave the word for the British infantry to advance ; the men, who had been lying prostrate on the hill, or resting on their arms on the slope, sprang forward, and closing around Ney and his gallant followers, poured into their ranks a continuous stream of bullets. The guard attempting to deploy, were thrown into confusion, and rushed in a crowd to the hollow road in front of La Haye-Sainte, whence they were speedily driven. In this desperate charge, Ney's uniform and hat were riddled with balls.

In the meantime, Blucher had pressed forward, and driven the few French from the hamlet of La Haye ; and his advanced guard already communicated with the British left. Bulow, who had been repulsed from Planchenois, but was now reinforced, was again advancing. Napoleon's sole reserve was the four battalions of the Old Guard, which had been destined to cover Ney's retreat. Wellington, having assumed the offensive, was advancing at the head of his whole army. It already grew dusk ; the French had everywhere given way : the guard, never before vanquished, had been routed by the stern troops of Britain ; and night brought with it terror and despair. It having been reported that the Old Guard had yielded, a panic suddenly spread throughout the French lines, and the fatal cry of "*Sauve qui peut !*" was raised, and becoming universal, discipline and courage were forgotten, and a wild flight ensued. For a moment, the Emperor strove to rally the fugitives, but without avail, and he was compelled to throw himself into the square of his old Guard, with his brother Jerome, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Corbineau, Drouot, Flahault, Gourgaud, Labédoyère, and Cambrone.

The cavalry and artillery of the English and Prussians now scattered death on all sides. The vengeance of the latter was unsatiated, and these scoured the field, making fearful carnage, and giving no quarter. The Old Guard was yet unbroken, and Napoleon lingered on the ground. Prince Jerome, who had fought bravely throughout the day, urged him to an act of desperation. "Here, brother," said he, "all who bear the name of Bonaparte should fall !" Napoleon, who was on foot, mounted his horse, but his soldiers would not listen to any proposal involving his death : and, at length, an aide-de-camp seizing his bridle, led him at a gallop from the field. For half a league his route lay through fields, in the midst of the infuriated Prussians, whose bullets whistled in the darkness around his head. He arrived at Genappe shortly before ten o'clock, where he again attempted to rally ; but the confusion was so great as to be utterly

irremediable ; and, as the English and Prussian cavalry were close at hand, he was forced to hasten onwards to Charleroi, where he procured some refreshment ; then proceeding to Philippeville, he continued his route to Laon. At nine o'clock, on the 20th, accompanied by Maret, and Generals Bertrand, Drouot, Gourgaud, and Labédoyère, he reached Paris, and slept for the night at the Elysée Palace.

At Fleurus, Ligny, Quatre-Bras, Waterloo, and the rout which succeeded, the French lost forty thousand men ; the Prussians thirty-eight thousand ; the Belgians and Dutch eight thousand ; the Hanoverians three thousand five hundred ; and the English between eleven and twelve thousand ; in all upwards of a hundred thousand men laid down their lives for the restoration of a baseless throne to the despicable elder Bourbons.

The Emperor too well knew the spirit which reigned in the Chamber of Representatives, not to foresee that the news of the dispersion of his army would array against him the storms of the Tribunate. It was on this account, therefore, that he hastened his return to the capital, in order to restrain by his presence the enemies of the interior, and calm or prevent the parliamentary crisis. Immediately on his arrival, he sent for his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, as well as for the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, and other ministers. The situation was difficult : every one tendered his ideas as to the best method of averting the public dangers. The Council of State was next called, to whom the Emperor explained his misfortunes, his wants, and his hopes. Perfectly understanding how important it was for him to conciliate the Chamber of Representatives, and not to suffer the want of harmony which might exist between them and himself to appear, he affected to attribute to an ill-disposed minority the hostile dispositions which were manifested in this assembly.

But Napoleon, if he had really mistaken the dispositions of the majority of the Representatives of France, might have been presently undeceived by their acts. The Assembly obeyed, more than he ever could have believed, the directions of Lanjuinais and La Fayette. On the motion of this last, it constituted itself permanent, and declared whoever should attempt to dissolve it a traitor to his country. This rupture, which was about to throw a heavy responsibility on the national representation, aimed the last blow at the political existence of Napoleon. The Bourbons and their Allies were rejoiced at this, and gave a loose to their delight. They foresaw that so marked a rupture between the Emperor and the representatives of the country, must inevitably lead to a second abdication, or a fresh 18th Brumaire, and that liberal France, without Napoleon, could not, any more than Napoleon without liberal France, long resist the Allied armies.

When the determination of the representatives was made known at the Elysée-Bourbon, it spread consternation around the Emperor. His most zealous servants gave way to despair, and counselled him

to submit to the inexorable destiny which demanded of him a further sacrifice. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was one of those who most strongly insisted that it was requisite for him to immolate himself once more at the altar of the country. Then Napoleon, who had also just learnt that the Chamber of Peers had eagerly imitated that of the Representatives, felt himself at once overcome both by friends and enemies, and declared himself resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. One single man in the council combatted this resolution, as being certain again to deliver France to strangers; and this man was the same who had single-handed opposed the establishment of the Imperial government. Carnot, though still devoted to the cause of liberty, thought the national independence ought not to be compromised by a lack of confidence in the Emperor, and he believed that this first interest of nations would be imperilled by the retirement of the only chief whom the army and the people could or would follow. When the contrary opinion had prevailed, he leant his



elbows on a table, at which he had been writing, and with his head buried in his two hands, he wept bitterly. Napoleon was deeply affected; and while he sought to soothe the grief of the aged states-

man, he exclaimed with a sigh, "I have known you too late!" The Emperor afterwards dictated the following proclamation:—"Frenchmen! in commencing the war to support the national independence, I relied on the union of every effort, of every will, and on the concurrence of the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and had braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations, and aim at naught save my person! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, by the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers will provisionally form the council of government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chamber to organize, without delay, a legal Regency. Let all unite for the public welfare, in order to remain an independent nation."

This declaration was immediately conveyed to the two Chambers. The Representatives who had provoked it received it with transport. But they took no explicit determination in respect to Napoleon II., whose legitimacy was stoutly upheld by some orators, among others by M. Béranger de la Drôme.

The Chamber of Representatives thought it requisite to send a deputation to Napoleon in order to felicitate him on his second abdication. "I thank you," he said to these deputies, "for the sentiments which you express towards me; I wish that my abdication may constitute the happiness of France; but I do not expect it: it leaves the State without political existence. The time lost in overthrowing the monarchy, might have been employed in placing France in a position to crush the enemy. I recommend the Chambers promptly to reinforce the armies; who desires peace should prepare for war. Do not place this great nation at the mercy of strangers. Dread to be deceived in your hopes; there lies the danger. In whatever position I may be, I shall always be content if France is happy."

Eventually, the enemies of the Imperial dynasty triumphed in the Chamber of Representatives; they had set aside the proclamation of Napoleon II., and named a committee of five members, to form a Provisional Government, viz: Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Quinette, and Caulaincourt. At this news, Napoleon gave way to his feelings of indignation, "I have not abdicated in favour of a new Directory," he exclaimed, "I have abdicated in favour of my own son. If they do not proclaim him, my abdication is null and void. The Chambers well knew that the people, the army, public opinion, desire and wish for him, but he is withheld by the foreigner. It is not by presenting themselves before the Allies with their ears flapping, and knees to the ground, that they will force them to acknowledge the national independence. National unanimity would have effected more with them than any mean and degrading humiliation."

Paris, however, contained a great number of patriots, who thought, with Carnot, that it was necessary, above all, to look to the defence of the country, and that this defence was scarcely possible without the arm, without the genius, without the name of the Emperor. The military men partook of, and loudly proclaimed this opinion. On all sides were heard shouts of "No more Emperor, no more soldiers!" The crowd, which constantly increased, marched round the Elysée-Bourbon, where Napoleon resided, and finished by rendering the Chambers and Fouché uneasy, who led the Provisional Government and negotiated with the foreigner. It was feared that the abdication would be deemed only a farce by the Allied powers, so long as the Emperor remained at Paris. Carnot was charged to impart to him the uneasiness of his colleagues, and to prevail upon him to leave the capital. With this object he repaired to the Elysée, where he found Napoleon alone in the bath. When he had informed him of the cause of his visit, the fallen potentate appeared surprised at the alarm which his presence excited. "I am now but a private citizen," said he; "I am less than a private citizen."

Nevertheless, he promised to yield to the wish of the Chambers and of the Provisional Government, and retired, on the 25th of June, to Malmaison. But this situation was too near Paris not to give



umbrage to his enemies. Fouché was in constant apprehension of some new enterprise on the part of the fallen potentate. He therefore actually caused him to be kept sight of by General Becker, under pretext of watching over his safety. On the 27th of June, on the rumour of the approach of the Allies, an imprudent manœuvre on whose part appeared to offer an opportunity of completely defeating them, Napoleon wrote to the Provisional Government to place himself at their disposal as a soldier.

The offer, however, was declined; and the refusal greatly irritated the Emperor. He spoke of again placing himself at the head of the army, and of attempting a *coup d'état*, a repetition of the 18th Brumaire. The Duke of Bassano, however, dissuaded him from it, by representing to him that circumstances were no longer the same as in the year VIII. Obligated to yield, he quitted Malmaison, and left for Rochefort, with the intention of sailing for the United States of America. He was accompanied by Generals Montholon, Resigny, Planat, Las Cases, father and son, with a few others of his suite.

General Becker, to whom the Provisional Government had confided the unpleasant task of watching his illustrious master at Malmaison, received orders to accompany him to Rochefort, and not to quit him until he was on board a vessel which should conduct him beyond sea. This brave general said to the Emperor on meeting him: "I am charged with a painful mission, yet I shall do everything that lies in my power to acquit myself of it to your satisfaction." He had the good sense to keep his word, and never for a moment to forget himself. He never swerved from the deference and regard he owed to fallen greatness and unfortunate genius.

Napoleon left Malmaison on the 29th of June, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July. The next day, his brother Joseph rejoined him. During his stay in this town, the Emperor constantly heard loud acclamations around his dwelling; he several times appeared at the balcony of the *préfecture* where he lodged, and always received fresh testimonies of the profound affection which the people retained for him. He embarked on the 8th of July, with the intention of repairing to the United States, and with the firm confidence that the safe-conducts which the Provisional Government had promised him, would be forwarded to him without obstacle or delay by the Allies. Two days after, he sent Las Cases and Savary on board the 'Bellerophon,' to learn from the commander of the English cruiser if he had not received a formal order from the ministers of His Britannic Majesty not to oppose his passage. No instructions had yet reached Captain Maitland, who commanded the 'Bellerophon,' and who contented himself with saying that he would refer it to the Admiral. On the 14th, Napoleon was still at the Island of Aix, waiting for a reply. This prolonged silence caused him some impatience, and he determined to put an end to the uncertainty in which he had been for the last four days. Las Cases, accompanied by Lallemand, returned to Captain Maitland, who persisted in his negative declarations, at the same time offering to receive the Emperor on board, and convey him to England, where he would meet with all the good treatment and consideration he could desire.

When Las Cases and Lallemand had rendered an account of the result of their mission, Napoleon assembled his companions in misfortune around him, and consulted with them as to the course he

should adopt. In front was a cruiser which there could be no hope of forcing, and behind, a land which the invasion of strangers and the return of the Bourbons would render inhospitable to all who bore the name of Napoleon, and to those who had been too closely associated with his glory. In this critical position, the Emperor believed that he could not do better than address himself to the generosity of the English nation, and solemnly to choose them for his host. He then took the pen, and wrote these memorable lines to the Prince Regent:—

“ROYAL HIGHNESS,—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearths of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“NAPOLEON.”

Las-Cases and Gourgand took the letter to Captain Maitland, to whom they announced that Napoleon would repair on the following morning on board his ship. On the 15th, therefore, at day-break, the brig ‘Epervier’ conveyed the great man to the ‘Bellerophon.’ At the moment of boarding her, the Emperor perceiving General Becker approaching him, no doubt to tender his adieus, said to him: “Retire General; I do not wish it to be thought that a Frenchman has come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies.” In pronouncing these words, however, he held out his hand to him, and did not send him away until after having pressed him for the last time in his arms.

On setting foot on board the ‘Bellerophon,’ Napoleon said to the captain, “I come on board your ship, to place myself under the protection of the laws of England.” This officer immediately conducted him to his cabin, of which he was put in possession. On the following day the Emperor went on board the ‘Superb,’ over which he was shown by Admiral Hotham, the commander on the station. He returned the same day to the ‘Bellerophon,’ which immediately set sail for England. In the visit which Napoleon paid Admiral Hotham, the latter, according to the testimony of Las Cases, “evinced, throughout, all the grace and refinement of a man of rank and education.” “The Emperor,” says the same author, “had not been long amongst his most inveterate enemies, those who had been continually fed with rumours no less absurd than irritating, before he acquired all the influence over them which belongs to glory. The captain, officers, and crew, soon adopted the etiquette of his suite, showing him exactly the same attention and respect; the captain addressed him either as *Sire*, or *Your Majesty*; when he appeared on deck,

everyone took off his hat, and remained uncovered while he was present. This was not the case at first: there was no entering his cabin, except by passing the attendants. No persons but those who were invited appeared at his table. Napoleon was, in fact, Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*."

On Sunday, the 23rd of July, the vessel passed near Ushant, and, the day being fine, Napoleon remained upon deck great part of the morning, when he cast several melancholy looks on the coast of France, but made few observations. At day-break, on the 24th, being close off Dartmouth, Count Bertrand informed the Emperor of that circumstance, who went on deck, and remained on the poop until the ship anchored at Torbay. He talked with admiration of the boldness of the coast, saying, "The English have in that respect a great advantage over France, which is surrounded by rocks and dangers." At the opening of Torbay, he was much struck with the beauty of the scenery, and exclaimed, "What a lovely country! it very much resembles the bay of Porto Ferrajo, in Elba." No sooner was his arrival known in the neighbourhood, than the ship was surrounded by crowds of boats, people being drawn from all quarters to contemplate this extraordinary man, who often went on deck, and showed himself at the gangways and stern windows, apparently for the purpose of gratifying curiosity, of which, he observed, the English appeared to have a considerable portion.

While the members of the British cabinet were probably deliberating upon the proper method to be pursued in disposing of their fallen enemy, Napoleon yielded to the illusory hope that he should be permitted to reside in England, under some strict, but not oppressive *surveillance*. Cheered by this expectation, he seemed to forget his misfortunes, in the contemplation of the novel and impressive scene exhibited by upwards of a thousand boats, occupied by more than ten thousand spectators, which floated round the '*Bellerophon*,' to catch sight of its imperial guest. On his appearing on deck, the officers and seamen by a simultaneous movement uncovered, without orders; a compliment always returned by the spectators in the bay, which then resounded with acclamations. At three in the morning of the 16th, Captain Sartorius returned from London; being the bearer of orders for the ship to proceed to Plymouth, off which place it was accordingly moored in the afternoon of the same day.

In consequence of the frequent repetition in the newspapers of its being the intention of the Government to send Napoleon to St. Helena, he, as well as the officers of his suite, became uneasy on the subject. Lord Keith had been on board the '*Bellerophon*,' but his visit, full of coldness and reserve, had lasted but a moment. He returned on the 31st of July, with Sir Charles Bunbury to communicate to Napoleon the official sentence of his banishment. He was the bearer of a ministerial despatch, which assigned the Island of St.

Helena for the residence of General Bonaparte. When Napoleon learnt from the mouth of the Admiral this resolution of the English cabinet, he gave way to his indignation, and protested with all his might against so manifest a violation of the law of nations. "I am the guest of England," said he, "and not her prisoner; I came of my own accord to place myself under the protection of her laws; the most sacred rights of hospitality are violated in my person; I will never voluntarily accede to the outrage which is done me; violence alone shall compel me to do so." He afterwards penned a spirited protest, which he gave to Captain Maitland, who forwarded it to the Port Admiral.

The number of persons who were to follow him was limited to three, and care was taken to exclude from these Savary and Lallemand. These two faithful servants of Napoleon might well believe they were destined to become victims on the scaffold which Louis XVIII. was preparing by his proscription of the 24th of July, in which they were both comprised.

On the 6th of August, orders were received from Lord Keith for the removal of the Emperor on board the 'Northumberland;' that he and his attendants were to be deprived of their arms, which, however, would be returned on their arrival at their destination. The Emperor seemed much hurt at this degradation, but said he would give directions for their delivery, and they were surrendered the ensuing morning, with the exception of his sword, which, by an order from Lord Keith, Napoleon was permitted to wear on quitting the ship.

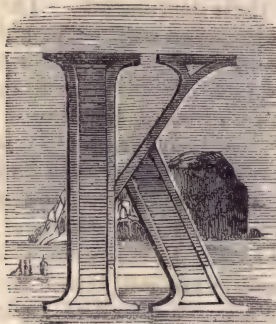
About eleven o'clock, Lord Keith proceeded on board in the 'Tonnant's' barge, to accompany the Emperor from the 'Bellerophon' to the 'Northumberland,' when Count Bertrand forthwith went to the cabin to inform Napoleon of his lordship's arrival: it was, however, full two hours before he was ready to attend him. In the course of the afternoon, Generals Savary and Lallemand went on board the 'Northumberland,' for the purpose of taking a last farewell of their master, with whom they remained a considerable time. On quitting their sovereign, he embraced them most affectionately, after the French manner, putting his arms round them, and touching their cheeks with his. He was firm and collected; but on turning from him, tears streamed copiously from their eyes. When on board, all the squadron got under weigh—the 'Tonnant' and 'Bellerophon' to return to Plymouth, and the 'Northumberland,' with two troop ships in company, to proceed to St. Helena. The following day she was joined by a frigate and several sloops of war from Plymouth, when she made sail westward.





CHAPTER XXXII.

VOYAGE TO ST. HELENA.—BRIARS.—LONGWOOD.—ARRIVAL OF SIR HUDSON LOWE.—ALTERCATIONS.—HARSH MEASURES OF THE GOVERNOR.—HABITS OF NAPOLEON AT LONGWOOD.—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.—EXHUMATION AND ENTOMBMENT IN THE INVALIDES. 1815—1840.



KEEPING along the English coast, the 'Northumberland,' on the 10th of August, cleared the British channel; and, on the following day Napoleon obtained a last glimpse of the coast of France—the heights of Cape de la Hogue. He gazed long and anxiously upon the scene; and, as it receded from his sight, he exclaimed with emotion: "Adieu! land of the Brave! Adieu, dear France! A few traitors less, and thou wilt again be mistress of the world!" This was the Emperor's last farewell to the country he had raised to the highest pinnacle of glory.

Having doubled Cape Finisterre, and passed Cape St Vincent, the heat became so excessive, that Napoleon only wore a very slight dress, and, as he could not sleep, frequently rose during the night. After the preliminary remarks on the weather, the ship's progress, and the winds, the Emperor used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of the preceding, or some former day; and having taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck, would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed his habitual predilection, so that the cannon in question was thenceforth called the Emperor's gun; he would there frequently converse for hours together. The midshipmen on board the 'Northumberland' behaved with marked respect and

attention to Napoleon. There was always a bustle when the sailors, upon a given signal in the evening, fetched down their hammocks, which had been placed in the ship's nettings in the morning. Those officers, either by signs or words, constantly directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him, so that the Emperor frequently remarked this conduct, and observed, "That youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm."

On the 15th of October, the 'Northumberland' anchored in the roads of St. Helena: on the 16th, the Emperor landed, with the Admiral and General Bertrand. He was at first lodged at Briars, in the house of a merchant of the island, named Balcombe. This was merely a temporary abode; his permanent residence being fixed for Longwood, the Governor's country-house. He had visited this on his arrival; but it was not yet in a fit state for his reception. From Mr. Balcombe he always met with the respect due to him, and found some resources against *ennui*. This worthy family neglected nothing which could contribute to soften the unpleasantness of his situation. During his stay at Briars, Napoleon went out but once, and then it was in order to visit the major of the regiment at St Helena. He busied himself with his Memoirs, and dictated at great length to Las Cases, father and son, also to Montholon, Gourgaud and Bertrand. His habitual walks were in the covered alleys and woods of Briars, whence nothing but frightful precipices could be seen.

Napoleon quitted Briars, on the 18th, to take up his abode at Longwood. The fresh habitation presented him with more conveniences, but he was not the less subjected to annoyances and vexations on the part of the gaolers. Sentinels were posted beneath his windows, and he was surrounded by the meanest and most humiliating precautions. He ordered Montholon to write to the Admiral on the subject, not wishing to interfere directly with any of these things. "If the Admiral were to present himself to me to-morrow," said he, "in spite of my just resentment, he would find my countenance as serene, and my temper composed as usual. This would not be the effect of dissimulation on my part, but merely the fruit of experience. I recollect that Lord Whitworth once filled Europe with the report of a long conversation that he had had with me, scarcely a word of which was true. But that was my fault; and it caused me to be more cautious in future."

In one of his rides, towards the close of December, he was obliged to dismount on account of the bad state of the roads, and sunk so deep in the mire, that it was only by dint of great trouble, and a great deal of dirt, that he succeeded in regaining *terra firma*. "Las Cases," said he, "this is a dirty adventure. If we had been lost in the mud, what would have been said in Europe! The canting hypocrites would have proved beyond a doubt, that we had been swallowed up for our crimes."

Almost all the English who sailed in these latitudes, made for St. Helena, in order to see the illustrious victim of their government. Napoleon invariably received them with much grace and dignity; and, as they found him very different from the portraits which had been drawn for them during the last twenty years, they excused themselves for having been able to credit the atrocities attributed to him. "Ah! well," said Napoleon, smiling to one of them, "it is to your ministers that I am indebted for these favours: they inundated Europe with pamphlets and libels against me. Perhaps they might say, in excuse, that they did but reply to those which they received from France: and it must in justice be confessed that those Frenchmen who have since been seen to exult over the ruins of their country felt no hesitation in furnishing them with abundant supplies of such articles." Every day, sailors were perceived about Long-



wood, who braved the sentinels, and the severe prohibitions, in order to approach the dwelling and behold the person of the imprisoned hero.

Climate and captivity were not long in producing their fruits. The health of the Emperor visibly altered. His constitution was not

so strong as had been commonly supposed. According to the expression of one of his companions in misfortune, "his body was far from being of iron, it was only his mind." Dr. O'Meara, an English physician, attended him, and subsequently completely won his confidence.

The papers successively brought to St. Helena the news of the death of Murat, of the rising and punishment of Porlier, of the trial and execution of Ney. When Las Cases read, in presence of the Emperor, the journal which announced the tragical death of the King of Naples, Napoleon suddenly seized him by the hand, at the same time exclaiming without uttering another word: "The Calabrians have been more humane, more generous, than those who have sent me here!" He considered that Ney had been badly attacked, and as ill defended, and was indignant at a condemnation which violated a sacred capitulation. The execution of the Marshal was not less severely censured by the prisoner at St. Helena than it has been, later, in the Chamber of Peers, by a great writer and illustrious general.

In the month of February, 1816, there arose complaints respecting the quantity and quality of the provisions furnished for the tables at Longwood. The increased number of soldiers on the island, and the prohibition of trading vessels, had produced a scarcity, which rendered it necessary for Sir George Cockburn to caution the exiles to economise their daily consumption, as otherwise some of the stores would be shortly exhausted. No one attached any blame to the Admiral on this account: it was felt that the British Ministry alone were the cause of the inconvenience. It was hoped, however, that as a new Governor was daily expected, with fresh powers to make arrangements respecting the Emperor's comforts and privileges, and as Sir Hudson Lowe had been represented as an honourable man, a speedy termination would be put to these petty grievances and privations.

The new Governor disembarked at St. Helena on the 14th of April, 1816. At the first interview, Napoleon considered him repulsive. "He is hideous," said the Emperor; "he has a most villanous countenance. But we must not decide too hastily; the man's disposition may, perhaps, make amends for the unfavourable impression which his face produces; this is not impossible."

The first measure which Sir Hudson Lowe took was to exact from the Emperor and his companions in exile, a formal declaration, showing that they remained voluntarily at Longwood, and that they would submit to all the conditions which the captivity of Napoleon might render necessary. Sir Hudson afterwards officiously caused works to pass under the eyes of the Emperor, in which his reign and his character were represented under the most false and the blackest colours. One of these libels issued from the pen of the Abbé de Pradt. But malice of this kind was but an innocent joke for a man in Sir Hudson's situation. He determined on making all the ser-

vants of the Emperor appear before him, in order that he might question each of them separately as to the genuineness of their resolution to remain at St. Helena, as if he had suspected the sincerity and freedom of their written declaration. This requisition galled Napoleon, who, nevertheless, resigned himself to this fresh outrage. When the Governor had finished his insolent interrogatory, he accosted Las Cases and Montholon, telling them that he was satisfied, and "that he should advise his government that all had signed of their own free will." He then began to boast of the site of Longwood, and decided that the Emperor and his people were wrong in complaining; that, after all, they were not so badly off. Some one remarked that there was not a single tree which could afford a little shade beneath so burning a sky, when he maliciously replied: "We will plant some!" and retired without adding another word.

On the eve of St. Napoleon, the Emperor fancied he should like to go partridge-shooting; but, being unable to proceed far on foot, he was obliged to mount his horse. In the evening, at dinner, having been reminded that it was the eve of the 15th of August, he said with emotion: "'To-morrow, in Europe, many healths will be wafted to St. Helena; many vows, many sentiments will traverse the Ocean.'" On the following day he breakfasted with all his faithful servants, beneath a large and beautiful tent which he had ordered to be pitched in the garden, and remained all day in the midst of them.

Finding himself an object of aversion and contempt with Napoleon and all the French at Longwood, Sir Hudson Lowe endeavoured to associate the English at St. Helena with the hostile position which he had created by his proceedings in regard to the Emperor and his people. He consequently spread about, that, if Napoleon refused to receive him, it was only on account of his hatred of the English nation, and this hatred extended to the officers of the 53rd, whom he did not wish to see. This report having reached the ears of the Emperor, he immediately sent for the oldest officer of the corps, Captain Poppleton, whom he assured that he had never said nor thought anything which could justify the assertion of the Governor. "I am not an old woman," said he, "I love a brave soldier who has undergone the baptism of fire, to whatever nation he belongs."

Sir Hudson afterwards sent for Dr. O'Meara, under the pretext of receiving more precise information as to the health of his prisoner, but with the real intention of exclaiming violently against the Emperor. "Tell General Bonaparte," he exclaimed, bursting with anger, "that he should pay more attention to his behaviour, since he persists in it, I shall be forced to take measures to augment the restrictions which are already exercised." He afterwards accused Napoleon of having caused the death of several millions of men, and ended by saying, "that he considered Ali Pacha a much more respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte."

These daily vexations made great inroads on the health of Napoleon. The alteration of his features had made such alarming progress, and so greatly altered his physiognomy, that his resemblance to his eldest brother became every day more striking. His sufferings and falling away did not, however, hinder his continuing the exercises and intellectual labours which he had undertaken since his arrival in the island. He continued the study of English, which Las Cases had undertaken to teach him; and he still occupied himself with his dictations, either to his generals, or to Las Cases and his son, on his campaigns, and all the memorable circumstances of his life. One day, after a violent altercation with the Governor, he dictated the battle of Marengo to General Gourgaud, and busied himself with reading over, with Las Cases, the battle of Arcola, which he had previously dictated to him. Las Cases says:—"The perusal of this account of Arcola awakened the Emperor's ideas respecting what he



called 'that beautiful theatre, Italy.' He ordered us to follow him into the drawing-room, where he dictated to us for several hours. He had caused his immense map of Italy, which covered the greatest part of the drawing-room, to be spread open on the floor, and having

laid himself upon it, he went over it on his hands and knees, with a compass and a red pencil in his hand, comparing and measuring the distance with a long piece of string, of which the end was held by one of us. 'It is thus,' said he to me, laughing at the posture in which I saw him, 'that a country should be measured in order to form a correct idea of it, and lay down a good plan of a campaign.'"

The hatred of the Governor for Napoleon extended to all the French at Longwood, but it exhibited an especial intensity and energy of character in Las Cases, in whom Sir Hudson Lowe already beheld the revealer of his mean conduct. In order to get rid of this inconvenient observer, Sir Hudson bethought himself of taking from him a young mulatto who was in his service, and who afterwards repaired furtively to Longwood, to offer to take charge of all letters and messages which his old master might wish to transmit to Europe. Las Cases, who believed in the frankness and honour of the young man, confided to him, among others, a letter for Lucien Bonaparte. Sir Hudson Lowe immediately seized this. Las Cases had fallen into the snare; the ungracious gaoler triumphed. He was taken away, at the end of November, 1816, and placed in confinement at St. Helena. Sir Hudson Lowe, after having seized his papers, caused him to be interrogated, and ended by ordering his transportation to the Cape. Napoleon wrote to Las Cases in prison; but his letter was intercepted by the Governor. Gourgaud, between whom and Las Cases there had been some of the bad understanding spoken of in the *Mémorial*, would not permit Sir Hudson Lowe's victim to depart, without showing him that the heart had had nothing to do with the little disagreements which had arisen between them. He therefore asked to accompany Bertrand, who had obtained leave to see Las Cases, and they repaired together to bid farewell to their unfortunate companion, whose voluntary exile had been changed into a frightful transportation. Shortly afterwards Sir Hudson, after a vain attempt to tamper with Dr. O'Meara, removed him also; and Napoleon was for some time without a medical attendant.

We now approach the concluding scene in the career of this great character. The health of Napoleon, during the six months preceding his establishment at Longwood, did not seem to undergo any change, notwithstanding his regimen was so completely altered. Neither his hours or food were any longer the same; his former habits, in fact, being totally deranged. Formerly he had been used to exercise; whereas he had then been long confined to a room. He had been continually in the habit of bathing; but for such indulgence he had no opportunity till after his arrival at Longwood. It was there, when he began to ride out on horseback, and returned to the use of the bath, that his attendants first began to perceive a sensible alteration in his health.

It was in like manner remarked, as a singular circumstance, that

while he had been inconveniently situated at Mr. Balcombe's, he suffered nothing; but when his establishment was improved, he was first observed to suffer pain. Soon after his arrival at Longwood, contrary to his natural temperament, he very frequently felt himself indisposed. A secret melancholy, which he endeavoured to conceal from every eye, and perhaps even his own, took possession of him.

In September, 1819, an Italian physician, named Antomarchi, sent at the request of the Emperor by Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch, arrived in the island. He was accompanied by two Italian priests, the Abbés Buonavita and Vignali. For eighteen months Antomarchi struggled against the disease which was hastening his patient to the grave; but without effect. The damp unhealthy climate of St. Helena rendered medicine unavailing, and the Emperor grew daily worse. At length, at the earnest entreaty of his physician, of Bertrand, and of Montholon, he consented that Dr. Arnott, an English physician, should be called in for consultation: this gentleman subsequently completely won his confidence. The concluding scenes in the life of Napoleon we gather chiefly from the narrative published by Antomarchi.

On the 21st of April the Emperor, though he had not slept much, was somewhat better. Towards four o'clock he took some food, and, at break of day, he had sufficient strength to rise, and pass three hours in writing and dictating.—Between the 27th and 28th the Emperor passed a very bad night; the fever increased, the cold spread over all his limbs, his strength was quite gone. He spoke a few words of encouragement to Antomarchi; then, in a tone of perfect calmness and composure, he delivered to him the following instructions: "After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish you to open my body. If you find it indispensable to have any one to assist you, Dr. Arnott is the only one I am willing you should employ. I am desirous further, that you take out my heart, that you put it in spirits of wine, and that you carry it to Parma, to my dear Maria Louisa; you will tell her how tenderly I have loved her: that I have never ceased to love her: and you will report to her all you have witnessed, all that relates to my situation and my death. I recommend you, above all, carefully to examine my stomach, and to make an exact, detailed report of it. I am inclined to believe that it is affected with the disease which conducted my father to the grave; I mean a cancer in the lower stomach. When I am no more, you will repair to Rome, you will find out my mother, my family; you will give them an account of all you have observed relative to my situation, my disorder, and my death on this remote and miserable rock; you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in a state the most deplorable, wanting everything, abandoned to himself and his glory."

On the 2nd of May, fever and light-headedness came on. In

his wanderings, the Emperor spoke of nothing but France, of his son, and his old companions in arms. "Steingel, Desaix, Massena! ah! the victory will be gained! hasten, urge the charge! we have them." On a sudden Napoleon recovered his strength, leaped on the ground, and was bent on going out into the garden. His end evidently approached. Those about him redoubled their zeal and attentions, and each was anxious to give a last proof of devotedness; but Napoleon not being able to bear a light in the room, they were obliged to render him every assistance in the midst of the most complete darkness. On the 3rd Napoleon called his executors together, and desired them, in case he lost his recollection, to suffer no English



physician to approach him but Dr. Arnott. "I am about to die," he added; "you will return to Europe: you have a right to my advice as to the conduct you ought to pursue. You have shared my exile: you will be faithful to my memory; you will do nothing which can injure it. I have sanctioned all the best principles: I have infused them into my laws, into my acts: there is not a single one which I have not consecrated. Unfortunately, the circumstances were trying; I was obliged to use force, to delay: reverses came: I could not unbend the bow, and France was deprived of the liberal

institutions which I had planned for her. She judges me with lenity—she gives me credit for my intentions—she cherishes my name—the recollection of my victories. Imitate her example; be faithful to the opinions we have defended—to the glory which we acquired: there is nothing without that but shame and confusion.”

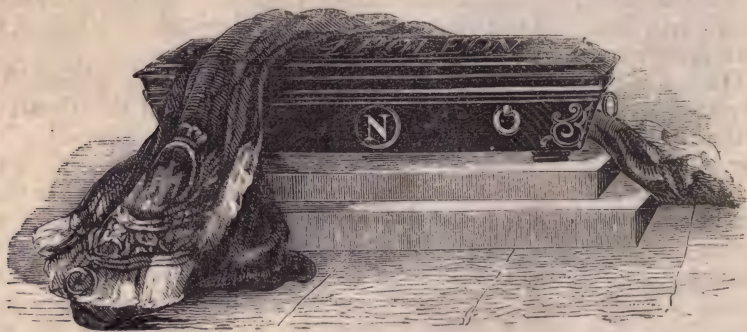
On the 5th, after an agitated night, the delirium still continued. He spoke with pain, uttered a few inarticulate and broken words, those of “*tête d’armée*” (head of the army) were the last that fell from his lips, intimating that his thoughts were watching the field of battle. He had no sooner uttered them than he lost the use of his speech. It appeared as if the spark of life was extinct; but after a struggle his pulse again beat, the oppression was diminished: he heaved deep sighs: Napoleon still lived. No farther change took place during the remainder of the day; but in the evening the eyelids became fixed, and the eyes were then drawn back. The pulse stopped, went on. It was within a few minutes of six o’clock. His hour was come: his lips were covered with a slight froth: Napoleon was no more!

He lay in state in his little bedroom, which had been converted into a funeral chamber. It was hung with black cloth. The corpse, which had not been embalmed for want of means, was of an extraordinary whiteness, and was placed on one of the camp-beds, surrounded with little white curtains, which served for a sarcophagus. The blue cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo covered it. The feet and hands were free; the sword on the left side and a crucifix on the breast. At some distance was a silver vase, filled with spirits of wine, containing the heart and stomach, which were not allowed to be removed. At the back of the head was an altar, where the priest, in his stole and surplice, recited the customary prayers. All the individuals of Napoleon’s suite, officers and domestics, dressed in deep mourning, remained standing on the left. For some hours the crowd had besieged the doors: they were admitted, and beheld the inanimate remains of Napoleon in respectful silence.

On the morning of the 8th of May the funeral took place. The governor arrived first, the real-admiral soon after, and shortly all the authorities, civil and military, were assembled at Longwood. The day was fine, the people crowded the roads, music resounded from the heights; never spectacle so sad and solemn had been witnessed in these remote regions. As the road did not admit a near approach of the hearse to the place of sepulture, a party of British grenadiers had the honour of bearing the coffin to the grave. The prayers were recited by the Abbé Vignali. Minute guns were fired from the Admiral’s ship. The coffin was then let down into the grave under the discharge of three successive volleys of artillery, from fifteen pieces of cannon. A large stone was then lowered down on the grave, and covered the moderate space now sufficient for the man for whom Eu-

rope was too small. Napoleon had himself indicated the spot where he wished to lie. It is a small secluded recess called Haine's Valley, where a fountain arises, at which the Chinese domestics used to fill the silver pitchers for Napoleon's use. The spot has more of verdure and shade than any other; and the illustrious exile was often accustomed to repose under the beautiful weeping willows which overhung the spring.

Napoleon, however, was to have only a temporary sepulture at St. Helena. In one of his codicils, dated the 16th of April, 1821, he himself marked out the spot for his final resting place. "I desire," he said, "that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well." But before this last wish could be accomplished, it was requisite that the French nation should cast off the yoke of the Bourbons, and that its government should be wholly freed from foreign influence. It was not till the year 1840 that the subject excited attention in France; but no sooner was the feeling of the French people expressed, than it was responded to by the Government. On the 5th of May—the anniversary of Napoleon's death—the French ambassador in England, M. Guizot, was instructed to apply to the British Government for the ashes of the Emperor; and ere ten days had elapsed M. Thiers had learned by an official despatch from Lord Palmerston, that England, without hesitation, was ready to meet the wishes of France. Accordingly, the Prince de Joinville, in the frigate 'Belle Poule,' was despatched to St. Helena. Under his directions the remains of Napoleon were exhumed and transported to France; and, on the 15th of December, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, were deposited with great pomp in the church of the Invalides.





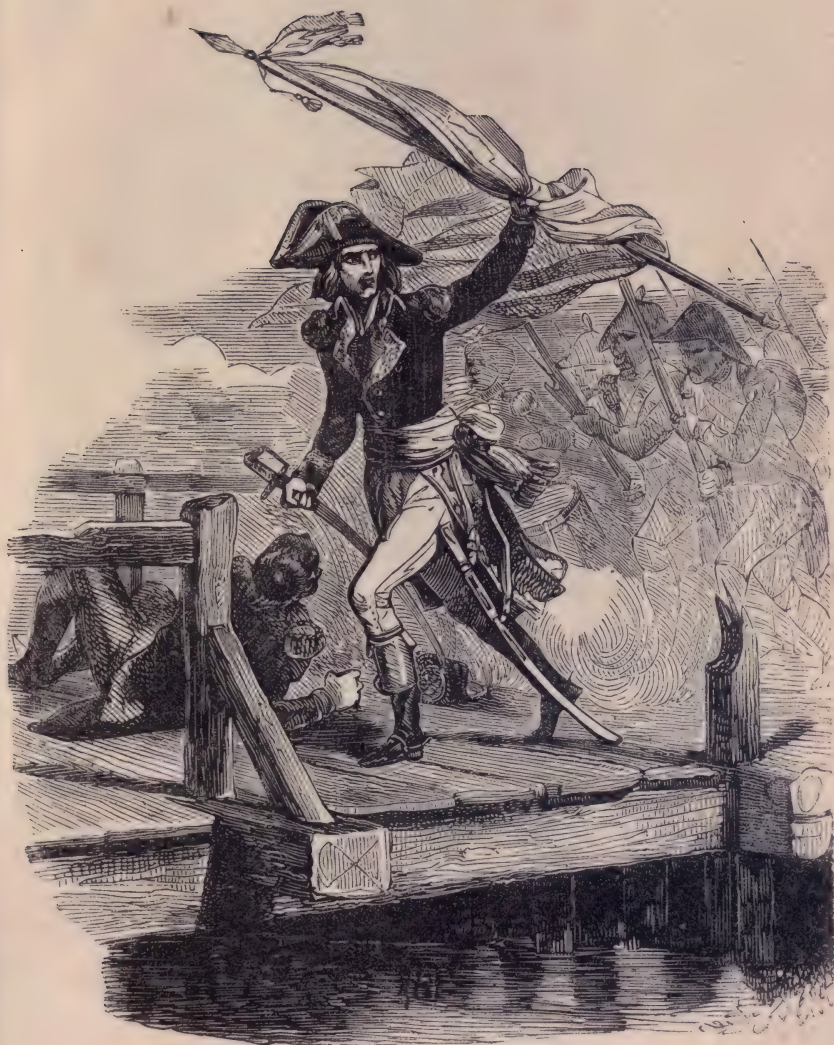
BONAPARTE, FIRST-CONSUL.



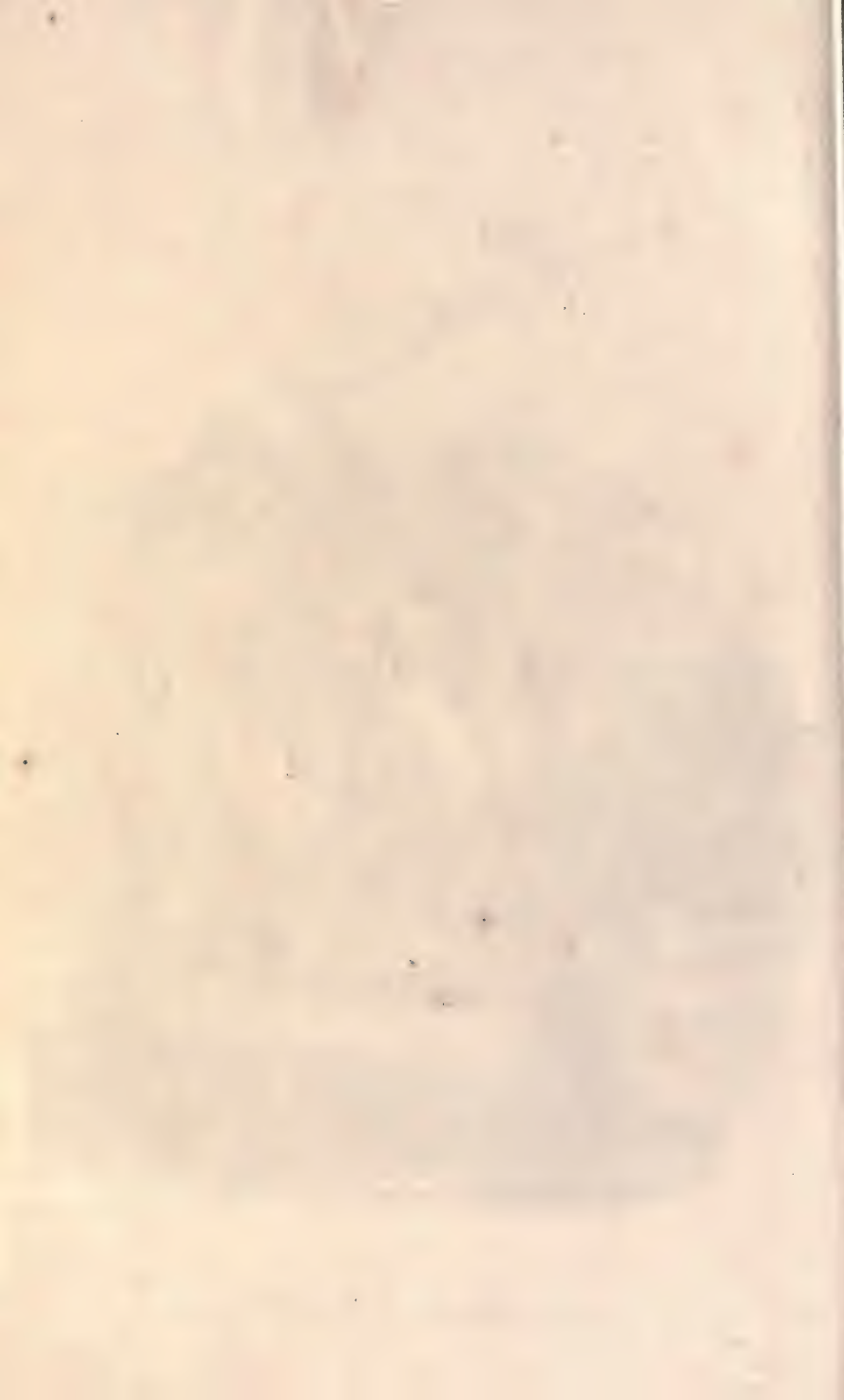


JOSEPHINE.





BONAPARTE CROSSING THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLA.





BONAPARTE CROSSING THE ALPS.









MURAT.





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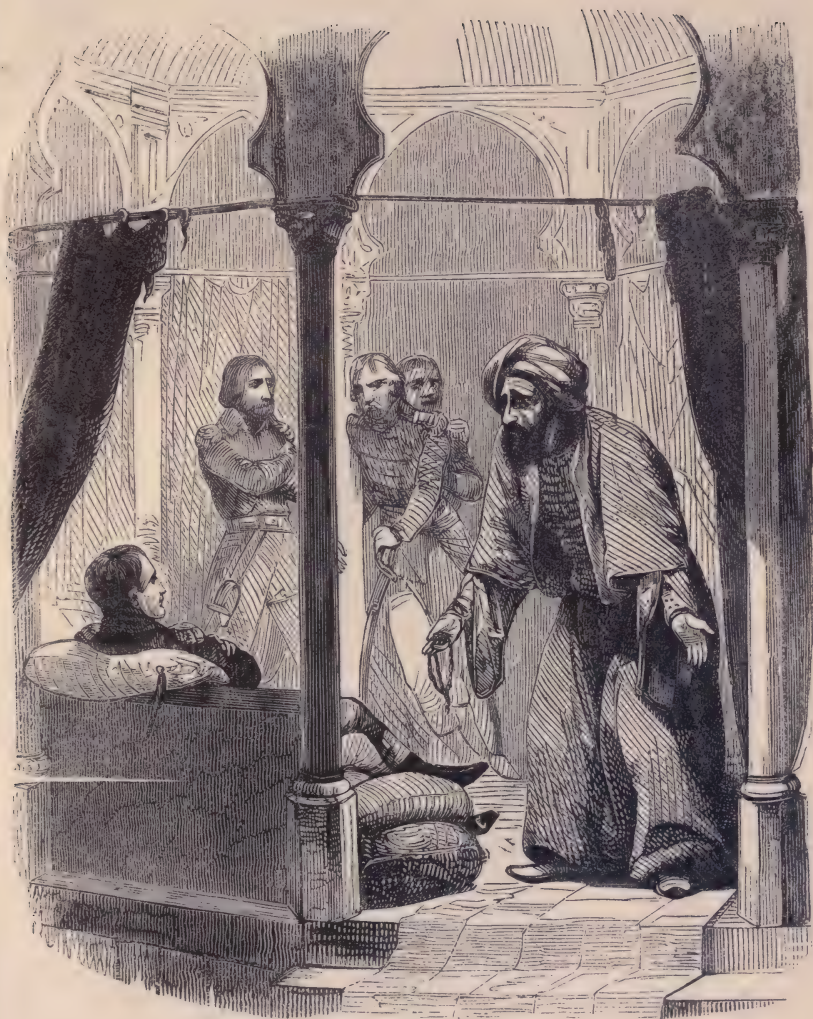
THE STORMING OF ABOUKIR.





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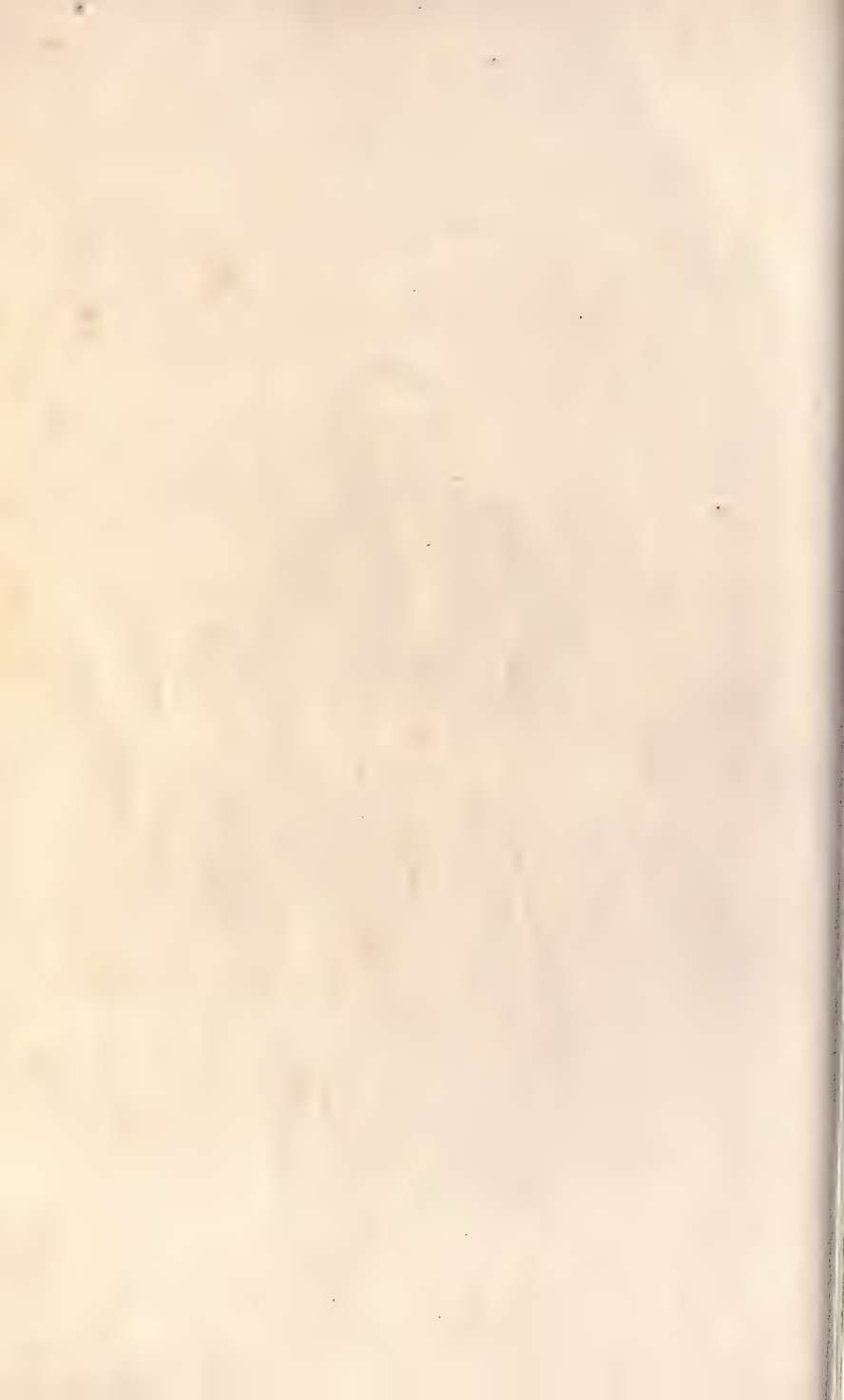


BONAPARTE IN THE SCHEIKH'S HOUSE AT DUMANHOUR.





MASSENA.





CONSPIRACY.-INFERNAL MACHINE.





RESTORATION OF THE COLOURS TO THE 76TH.





N.Y.





SOULT





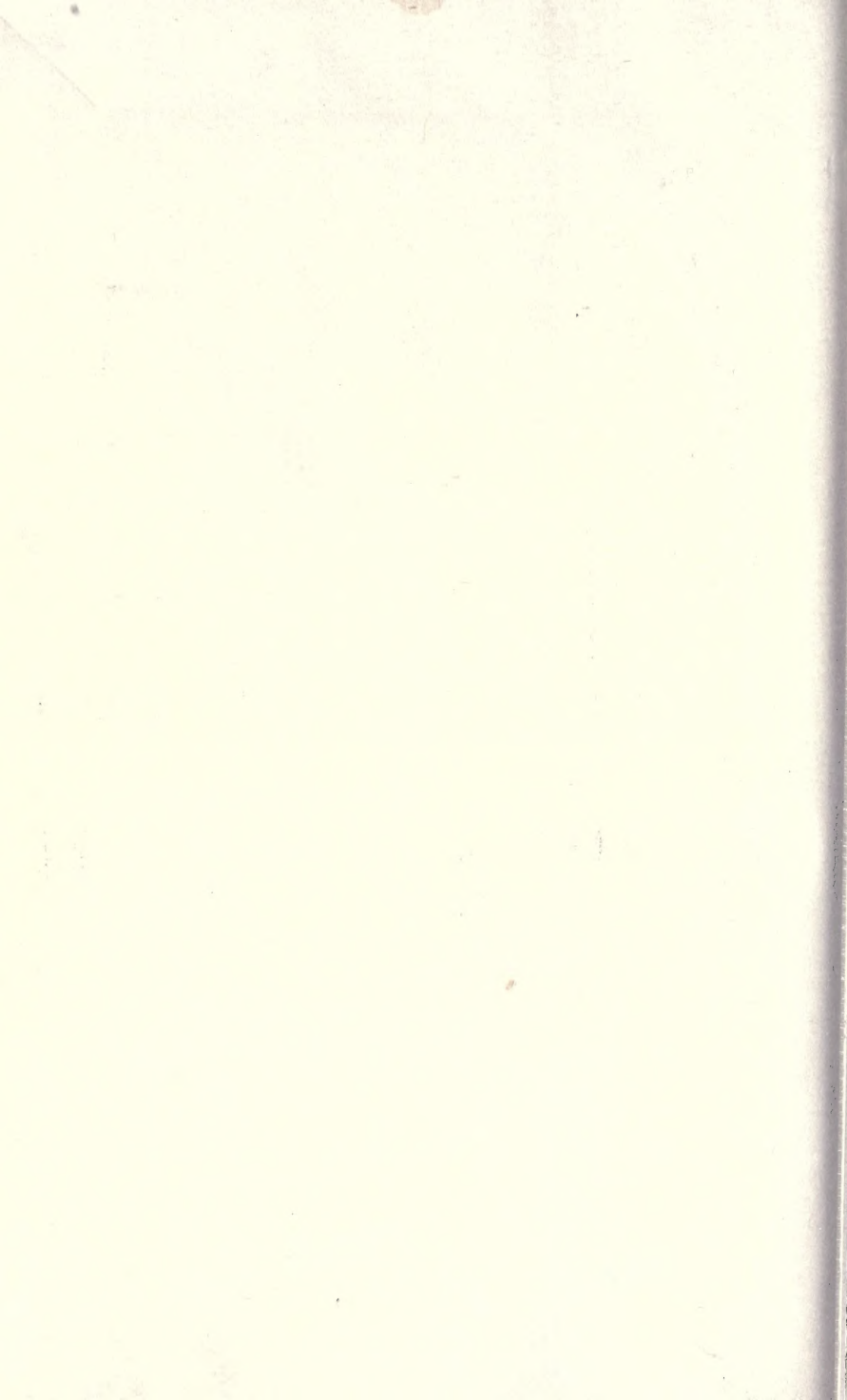
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